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Estonia's Toome Views Political Situation

90UN1230A Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII
in Russian 6 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Indrek Toome, prime minister of Estonia, by correspondent Ella Agranovskaya: "Politics Is Not a Sports Competition in Which Whoever Comes in First Is the Winner"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Correspondent] Please tell us to what extent the situation in our republic today is under control?

[Toome] First of all, to agree on the criteria we should agree on what you understand by controlled situation and what I understand by it. In my view, the political situation which has taken shape is nothing supernatural or alarming. In enacting laws the Supreme Soviet is observing, in my opinion, all the necessary rules of law-making. True, some people are saying that this activity has become too politicized today. I also share this view to some extent. Such are the times today. But, in my view, compared with some other republics political processes here are developing constructively and tranquilly. There is also a grain of truth in the observation that our Supreme Soviet is on certain issues lagging behind the supreme soviets of Lithuania and Latvia. But, in principle, I disagree with the use of the word "lagging". Understand that politics is not a sports championship in which whoever comes in first is necessarily the winner. It is perhaps precisely this person who is the loser. This is the paradoxical thing about politics. Nor do I agree with those who even at the highest level say in evaluating the processes which are occurring: "With you in the Baltic...." All three Baltic republics have dissimilar histories. True, they have had much in common in the past 50 years, but today's situation and the possibilities of performing political work are largely different.

So, in my view, the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and its chairman, Arnold Ryuytel, are influencing the situation in the republic. Sociological research shows that this influence extends more to the Estonian-speaking population. But I disagree with those who say that they enjoy no authority among the Russian-speaking population. In my opinion, they do, and perfectly normal authority at that. As far as the executive authorities, the Council of Ministers and the ministries and departments, are concerned, we do not aspire to political power and consciously place ourselves in a subordinate position in relation to the Supreme Soviet. In some audiences—in connection with the fact that I am a member of the Estonian CP Central Committee Buro—I am asked: Does this put strong pressure on me? I have an opportunity to compare today's situation with that which existed previously. The Estonian CP Central Committee Buro and Vayno Vyalyas do not interfere either in the affairs of the Supreme Soviet and law-making or in the affairs of the government. It is a long time since we adopted joint resolutions. True, one joint resolution of the Estonian CP Central Committee Buro and the government did appear recently: Henceforward

such resolutions will not be adopted. And the right to cancel previous resolutions by exclusively government decisions has been accorded.

[Correspondent] As far as the ministries and departments are concerned?

[Toome] Some leaders at the enterprise and farm level feel that the ministries and departments are no longer performing the predominant role which they performed recently. This is our victory, our conscious activity.

[Correspondent] I sometimes think it would be interesting to know to which ministry the Chanel perfume company is subordinate?

[Toome] We are moving toward having not one enterprise subordinate in the economic sense to any ministry either in the republic or the Union in Estonia.

[Correspondent] To what extent does such a correlation of forces suit both the enterprise and the ministry?

[Toome] Our enterprises have yet to accustom themselves to this new situation. Nor have our ministries become accustomed to it either. I believe that there will be recriminations for a long time to come: These are not helping, and these are not listening. There will most likely be some transitional period, in which we must understand that these new relationships are only just taking shape. We must live through it and free, as they say, the economic subject—whether it be an individual entrepreneur or cooperative, joint-stock company or large enterprise—from pressure on the part of the executive authorities. They must be subordinate only to the laws which regulate the economy.

[Correspondent] I note that you have painted a very rosy picture.

[Toome] Wait. Truly, the situation is too good even at present. I can see things getting worse. We have not yet reached the level in society's development which is called a crisis.

[Correspondent] You believe that we must necessarily experience it? That we cannot avoid it?

[Toome] In my view, this is objective. When processes develop in this way, a crisis unfailingly sets in. As a consequence, people die or get better, as a rule. God grant that we do not die, that we get better. Both economically and politically. I have to say that we have already approached the Rubicon where it has become clear that we need to abandon the model of management which we have hitherto called socialist economics. And, to a large extent, that which is called IME [Self-Managing Estonia]. We have for too long made a fetish of it. The new economy is developing slowly, and only the first shoots are noticeable yet. They broke through, perhaps, on 2 February, when we adopted for ourselves the decision to formulate an economic policy which would really be oriented toward the market, not a pseudo-market, pseudo-socialist and, generally, half-baked

policy. You cannot be half-pregnant, as they say. But in the IME we wanted to combine everything—both to please Moscow and to move toward the market. Nothing will come of it! So? A rosy picture, but the paint has been laid on thick.

[Correspondent] But you understand what dictated my question? You see what is happening in the country. And we still live in this country as yet, although some people have already imagined themselves in free European expanses, while others have been aspiring in all their thoughts to the salvation of Soviet power at all costs. And normal biological fear is creeping in from all sides.

[Toome] I still believe that we will be able to avoid a physical confrontation. For this reason we have in this sense already experienced the most critical moment.

[Correspondent] You really believe this?

[Toome] I, personally, yes. But some aspects disturb me. Some people think, for example, that, following the Estonian Congress, power must pass to a committee elected there, which they have declared via the EDAZI newspaper. Formerly they spoke of cooperation with the Supreme Soviet prior to the establishment of Estonia's state independence. Now, however, they are declaring bluntly that they are the sole representatives of power on Estonian soil. For serious politics this is absolutely unserious. I am 100-percent sure that Estonians support the parliamentary method of the development of events en route to state independence. Sociological surveys testify to this also. But! I am also worried by the fact that a certain part of the non-Estonian population or its leaders might now try to take advantage of the lack of knowledgeability concerning the mood of the bulk of Estonians in order to have an inflammatory effect on the rest of the Russian-speaking population: Soviet power is, they will say, in danger, and you know what the Congress will represent, you can now no longer believe the official authorities, Ryuytel, Toome and so forth. It is time to defend ourselves, let's prepare ourselves and leave! And they could leave. Or the center will take a close look. Soviet power is in danger! And although we have not had large crowds of people on the streets here, it is not difficult to organize several thousand, and take steps. If just one side inflames passions, the other will not remain behind, and a confrontation will ensue. Then things would be quite bad. I am therefore disturbed by some statements, which smack of provocation: Even if there might be clashes, the game is worth the candle.

[Correspondent] This is, of course, worrying. But even more worrying is something else: Our authorities are somehow too mobile in their opinions. Even those who just yesterday were called extreme are gradually becoming, in the opinion of the authorities, "objective realities". Yes, the PNNE [Estonian National Independence Party] and the Citizens' Committee are a reality. But the Intermovement is also a reality, which no one aspires to recognize. Can authorities which so easily change their opinion of just one extreme be trusted?

[Toome] But it is not, after all, only the Intermovement. The PNNE has not been registered either, and the Supreme Soviet Presidium has no contacts with them.

[Correspondent] But neither were the citizens' committees encouraged all that much initially.

[Toome] Just a minute, I wanted to mention this. The citizens' committees presented ideas which conclude: We wish to be the sole representatives of power.

[Correspondent] But in the interim, what, they have been undergoing restructuring?

[Toome] Precisely! It is this which is giving rise in serious politicians to a certain distrust toward them. I personally also thought that they had matured to the point of an understanding that the Estonian Congress should be a matter for all movements which advocate a sovereign Estonia, which they declared on television. It was at that time that the attitude of other political forces toward them changed. It has turned out, however, that they want to be the sole exponents of power in Estonia. I hope that the idea of joint action will once again be heard at the congress.

[Correspondent] And how generally do our authorities forecast the development of events? Do they forecast them?

[Toome] Of course, each politician constantly thinks about how events might develop. That to which we have come today could have been forecast long since. As you know, the most important aim—a democratic sovereign state—was cited in the platform of the 19th party conference even. This was read variously—federation, confederation, independent state—but deeply seated in the hearts of the majority of Estonians was, of course, the idea of their own statehood. Presenting such a proposal at that time, however, was impossible.

[Correspondent] Then when, in your view, did this become possible?

[Toome] It is my profound belief that this aim matured conclusively in serious politicians when they became convinced that the renewed federation, with very big rights enjoyed by the union republics, promised by Mikhail Gorbachev was impracticable. You recall that just a year ago almost all the present more or less centrist forces were in favor of a union treaty. But nothing has changed! Events have picked up speed.

[Correspondent] But if you forecast everything so well, how could you have overlooked the "Russian question"?

[Toome] This was the biggest mistake. And the second mistake was the fact that we did not pass a law on citizenship last spring. All people would now have this citizenship, and many of today's political problems would have been cleared up.

[Correspondent] You are sure that all people would have citizenship?

[Toome] Of course! The draft which had been offered proposed a "zero option." Only in the final section was it stipulated which category of Estonia's inhabitants should put in a request for citizenship in writing.

[Correspondent] But this is also humiliating, don't you agree!

[Toome] Wait! I see no humiliation. It would have been worse to have foisted on people this citizenship, which they possibly might not want! At that time, in the spring, we feared precisely this. But many people have altogether a strange notion of citizenship. Citizenship is man's political and legal relationship to the state. For example, in a normal democratic country the advantage the citizen holds over those who are residents is merely the fact that he has the right to elect and be elected and also overseas, should something happen to him, to request legal protection from the embassy of his country. And that's all! If you have the money, live! You may buy a house, you may take up residence in a hotel for five years. There are no social or everyday privileges for those who have citizenship.

[Correspondent] But until we have risen to such a level, we surely need to settle the citizenship issue and to remove the problem from the agenda. And then, it seems to me, there would be no hysteria.

[Toome] The problem is no longer now, in my view, of a political nature, although some people wish to portray the situation precisely this way. I am certain that today—not yesterday, today—this is not so much an interethnic issue. It is rather an emotional problem: fear! Fear of the future. People are uneasy: What will tomorrow bring? Some say one thing, others, another; while some leaders of certain movements are saying: These Estonians will never recognize you as their equals and once they achieve independence, deportation will begin. Nonetheless, note that there is a difference in the perceptions of those who have lived in Estonia a long time and those who have come here recently. There is far less fear among the first: You can live here, and Estonians are not the monsters they are made out to be. These people know what has happened here, if only over the past 70 odd years. They are not surprised by the free thinking, which we had here even before perestroika. It does not frighten them, they themselves are free thinkers. The second, however, have not taken root yet and have not immersed themselves in the Estonian social and psychological, cultural, and historical environment. Their attitude toward us is as toward dissidents. And the political views of these two groups differ also. Many former officers, of whom there are quite a few here, are particularly conservative. And it is they who are active and who are the chiefs and in all movements and groups have now taken up a militant position. But could we now remove the fear at the emotional level, people would support us. I refer once again to sociological research: It shows that the non-Estonian population is beginning to support independent statehood for Estonia at an astounding rate.

[Correspondent] Naturally. People are not, after all, blind. They watch the relays of the Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet sessions....

[Toome] And if fear leaves, understanding comes: We will work together, we will anticipate joys together, we will suffer difficulties together.

[Correspondent] You do not think that fear is increasing because the number of different movements, parties, and groupings is growing and in order to be heard the leaders must shout louder and more shrilly?

[Toome] No, I believe that the trend will go into decline. Of course, cries are always loudest at birth. But I see nothing wrong in the fact that parties are being born. All have a right to be born. A right to die also. There is no need, in my opinion, to fear the appearance of new movements, parties, and associations. This is inevitable in the situation of a young political democracy. Time will tell whom the people support, and whom they do not. For instance, when we, several USSR people's deputies, banded together in the Liberal Reformers Club, we also did not know whether there was a niche for us in political life. We gradually sensed that there was, despite the diversity of various movements. In addition, it transpired that we had a big niche at the personal level: A great many people had not determined their political status. And it is gratifying that people have accepted the calm, democratic platform which we offered. The "Baba Eesti" democratic association, which is based on three fundamental principles—tolerance, competence, and cooperation—was born from this club. It is open to all who are prepared to proceed toward Estonian independence by way of negotiation, given respect for human rights and civil rights, the rights of the Estonian people and of all national groups which live in Estonia. And many people wish to cooperate with us.

[Correspondent] Please tell me, if Mikhail Sergeyevich were to invite you to his office today and beseech you to head the Estonian Communist Party, what decision would you make?

[Toome] I was for five years and six months first secretary of the Tartu Gorkom [City Party Committee]. I was for 10 months secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee. This type of activity requires people who like propaganda, ideological work. To be honest, I do not care for it all that much. You are the first journalist to whom I have said this: I do not like to speak, I do not like to talk. I have most likely spoken so much in my life that this now causes me little in the way of stress. But in party work this is indispensable.

I am, possibly, an indifferent economist, but I like organizing work. I consider myself an organizer-politician. I was, after all, a highly distinctive first secretary in Tartu. By today's reckoning I was a poor first secretary because I myself dealt with the economy, myself handled the five-year plan of the city's development, myself dealt with construction matters. My engineering background was very likely reflected here. And

my thinking is that of an engineer, and for this reason I look odd among ideologists.... No, I do not wish to go into party work.

[Correspondent] With reference to your future, what is your attitude toward the fact that the revolution, alas, devours its children?

[Toome] If we are moving toward democracy, we have to recognize this. For monarchists it is simpler: Order is order. Democratic rule is the severest for the rulers. And all of us who are currently in office must understand that today one is here, tomorrow, there, and the day after tomorrow, here once again, possibly. And the people also must understand that this is normal. Our people have for decades been accustomed to thinking that since he is gone, he was, consequently, bad, no use. The people must accustom themselves to the fact that arrivals and departures will be natural—as throughout the democratic world. That defeat in the elections by no means signifies political demise, as has been the case with us for many years.

We must now all struggle to ensure that a free Estonia be formed democratically. If only we can prevent a usurpation of power. This is the question of questions. And then, let things be, in whatever office we occupy. We will go, others will come, then others. There will be a normal struggle for power. But, democratic struggle! Via elections, via the people's democratic expression. This is the most important thing. This is what I will fight for, this is why "Baba Eesti" emerged. Wherever I am, I will not retreat from this.

Decision on Estonian Party Activity Viewed

90UN1139A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 8 Mar 90 p 1

[Report on interview with G. Aleshin, second secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, by *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA* correspondent S. Tarankov in Tallinn: "In Words Everything Is Simple, But in Fact..."]

[Text] "In confirming the territorial-production principle, that is, preserving the party organizations in production and other collectives, the party is saying that communists must be active in their business and in the activity of the public organizations and organs of self-management." These lines are taken from the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th CPSU Congress.

And here is a report from Estonia.

A general meeting of communists working in the Estonian SSR state offices has decided that the activity of the party organization in the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs should be considered ended.

Communists in the Supreme Soviet Presidium reckoned that following the changes in Articles 6 and 7 of the

Estonian SSR Constitution, compliance with a number of the requirements of the CPSU Rules is at variance with the Fundamental Law of the republic and they have ceased their organizational activity to eliminate these contradictions.

A general meeting of communists of the Tallinn city board has resolved to consider the activity of the primary party organizations ended effective 26 March 1990.

Our correspondent asked G. Aleshin, second secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee, to comment on these decisions.

The workers in the state institutions themselves, G. Aleshin said, justify their actions by the changes in the articles of the republic's constitution that reinforce the leading role of the communist party in society, and the adoption of the law on parties, and the multiparty system that is being set up. And if in the state apparatus dozens of party organizations are starting to function, and each of them, as was accepted earlier, will discuss the work of their own members and offer appropriate recommendations, then "multiple authority" will appear. In short, according to this logic, any party activity should be conducted outside the framework of the state apparatus.

There is undoubtedly a problem here. And it must be resolved. But in my opinion, the communists in these party organizations have obviously rushed into things. If fact, the corresponding articles of the constitution are for us petrified. But the CPSU Rules remain, and they have not abolished the leading role of the communists and their right and duty to participate in perestroika. And there is still no law on parties. We are dealing only with a draft in which the equality of parties is affirmed and provision is made for the right of membership in them by certain categories of state employees. We cannot assume the final formulations in which this legislative enactment will be adopted.

It is probable that the liquidationist sentiments of some communist administrators has played a not unimportant role here. It can be traced quite clearly in the proposals from the meeting of the party organization of the Tallinn city board for the upcoming Estonian Communist Party congress. One of them, for example, recommends a halt to the activity of the Estonian Communist Party as part of the CPSU and that the party cards of its members be considered invalid. They are proposing the transfer of enterprises, real estate and other material values belonging to the party to state ownership, while the "property" of the rayon and city committees be transferred to the local organs of self-management, and that what remains of those monies should be transferred to the state budget to cover the bank accounts of party organs. And finally, they propose that all staff party workers be released from executive duties.

The decision of the administrators is not only premature but is also further complicating what is already a complicated situation. The Central Committee Buro has

decided to look seriously at the situation that has developed and express its opinion as soon as possible. But I am firmly convinced that the future of the Estonian Communist Party can be decided only at its 20th Congress, which begins on 28 March. It will consider all the opinions of the communists and the documents presented for debate at our party conference, and undoubtedly also the CPSU Central Committee draft platform for the 28th CPSU Congress. I think that in resolving issues such as the role and place of communists in society's new political structure it would be improper to "ride the horses too hard."

Formation of Estonian Deputy Ethics Committee Urged

90UN1163A Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII
in Russian 1 Mar 90 p 1

[Letter to MOLODEZH ESTONII from Pavel Panfilov, Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy candidate: "What is Not Put to Jupiter, or The Turns of the Candidates in the Pre-election Sprint"]

[Text] I recognize that the problem I am raising is an extremely touchy one, but we cannot silently ignore it any longer and we also cannot further undermine the people's faith in justice that has taken fire during the period of perestroika.

Registration of candidates for deputy to the republic's new Supreme Soviet has been completed. In accordance with the law that has been approved, candidates may be nominated on the basis of their places of work or residence. And some of those who pretend to a deputy's seat immediately have undergone a strange metamorphosis. As has become known, E. Savisaar was registered in Rakverskiy Rayon, in the village of Pyara, while at the same time having an apartment in Tallinn and a personal government dacha in Keyla-Yoa.

Of the five seats allocated to Rakverskiy Rayon for its representation in the Supreme Soviet, two have in fact been taken away by residents of Tallinn. In addition to E. Savisaar, T. Made has established a base in the same place and with the same goal—to get into the new Supreme Soviet—by arranging work for himself at the Eesti Tsement scientific-production association while continuing to live in Tallinn.

Has Virumaa really become so impoverished that it cannot nominate from among its own permanent residents people worthy of representing it in parliament. As is known, both E. Savisaar and M. Lauristin are not only candidates for the republic's Supreme Soviet, but also delegates to the Estonian congress. It is also known that those in favor of holding an Estonian congress consider the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet to be an illegal authority. How then should one understand the agreement by E. Savisaar and M. Lauristin to run for office in two mutually exclusive organs? As a desire to end up anywhere at all and at any price, or just to be on the safe side?

Let us consider—are all means to achieve a goal really good? Whom are we deceiving by such actions. In the first instance—the people. Is it worth hoping that such games will go unnoticed? Indeed, people are already asking themselves the question: Are we, perhaps, having such difficulty with introduction of the IME [Self Managing Estonia] because many of the responsible economic managers called upon to organize it, have at the same time found jobs for themselves in various cooperatives and joint enterprises and firms as advisors and consultants, and sometimes even as members of management. Having shown concern in this way about their own personal budgets, are they hoping in an unsophisticated way to patch up the republic's budget by an extremely simply route—by legalized speculation in alcohol or an increase in prices?

I am firmly convinced that if we ourselves, by our own behavior, do not present a worthy example, we will then undermine faith in our economic miracle and the faith that it is specifically the people who will be the masters of their own land.

We say with pride that perestroika in Estonia is greatly outstripping analogous processes in the Soviet Union, and the growth of our self-consciousness, as Heinz Walk once said, is an example for the entire world. But has our self-consciousness really grown so much? We consistently complain about the center, considering the culprit responsible for all our troubles, and meanwhile we are unable to introduce even elementary order here at home. I have in view the still-existing privileges of certain representatives of the party and state leadership. I am against levelling and allow that such leaders as A. Ryutel, I. Toome, and V. Vyalyas should have state dachas and official automobiles. But why is the circle of privileged persons so great in our small republic? If the budget is coming apart at the seams and if it is necessary to wring two rubles out of the people for a bottle of vodka, then why do we tolerate the existence of an entire secret dacha settlement with its guards and service personnel, its special store, its health complex built by Finnish construction workers, its boat marina, tennis courts, and saunas? Can you imagine how much it costs our budget to maintain such a heaven on earth? We all see how justice is being restored in the countries of Eastern Europe and also in some places in our Soviet provinces. Is it not time for us also to undertake at least some steps in this direction? Do our old and pensioned people really not have the right to live out their remaining years, and perhaps even days, in a boarding home in Keyla-Yoa? I think that they have earned this with their honest, selfless labor. Let us move at last from words to deeds, let us establish a deputy commission regarding privileges, let us solve this painful problem.

Let us follow the example of our neighbors in Riga by declaring illegal the existence of so-called commercial stores which, in essence, have been turned into legalized theft by highly placed people who just have to have another 100 grams for full happiness and are ready to pay any kind of money for the sake of this. Let us restore

the former but still high state prices for alcohol and tobacco. And let us not be hypocritical by maintaining that as a result of this increase in prices we have done a great favor for pensioned people, that we have provided material support for public health care, etc. If there is no other way to supplement the budget then it would be better to increase the income tax by a certain percentage on earnings exceeding, let us say, 500-600 rubles a month. In any case, this would look more just and, in truth, would not effect the interests of population levels that have little.

And finally. It is absolutely necessary to establish a commission to deal with deputy ethics, so that every elected representative of the people is in the public eye and accountable for his actions. And that, in his biographical summary submitted for publication as an official document, a candidate for deputy would write that he does not have a personal dacha and automobile, that his family of five persons lives in a four-room apartment with an area of 49.6 square meters.

Recently, the size of my own apartment has been of strong interest to certain of the mass information media. Evidently, anything goes in a pre-election campaign. I report that my family obtained it with the agreement of the trade union committee of the city party committee apparatus from the fund of the Estonian CP Central Committee. Specifically this one, and not the apartment of K. Vayno (98.7 square meters of living area) which had then become free and which, as is known, was occupied by the family of M. Titma, consisting of three persons.

I propose that every candidate for deputy to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet publish the following data about himself:

- 1) The composition of his family and the size of the living area in which it lives,
- 2) Possession, besides this, of a farmstead, dacha, or garden house (with its location and total area),
- 3) Possession of a personal automobile (make and year of purchase),
- 4) When and at whose expense he has travelled abroad during the past two years,
- 5) At his discretion, the size of family savings-bank deposits.

CP Chief on Latvian, Party Independence

90UN1140A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
22 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee: "Once More on Latvian Sovereignty and the Independence of the Latvian Communist Party"]

[Text] Following the plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee this January, a kind of stage two of the debate on the content and tasks of the restructuring processes in the republic and its party has been expanding. The commissions formed by the plenum have begun to draw up the basic documents—the Latvian Communist Party Program and Rules. But confrontation is intensifying also and mutual complaints and intolerance are growing. All this, unfortunately, could be observed at the first stage of the work of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session and in the atmosphere surrounding it.

New emphases in the preparation for the 25th Latvian Communist Party Congress were set by the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum and the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress which it adopted. An opportunity to clarify our vision of the cardinal problems of perestroika and to formulate quite specifically possible proposals of Latvia's communists in the pre-congress debate and for the 28th CPSU Congress directly has emerged.

Both the above-mentioned new documents and the processes of recent weeks in the republic party organization bring about the need to once again concisely formulate, in the form of theses, our viewpoint on at least some questions of the restructuring of the Latvian Communist Party, which, in my view, form the central point of all debate.

It is clear that, given the absence of political consensus primarily in understanding precisely these problems, an organizational split in the Latvian Communist Party will be inevitable. But, in my view, such a consensus is still possible since many of the contradictions are more imaginary than real and have been created by an ignorance or inadequate understanding of identical concepts and processes of social life.

The flash points of the problem amount to the attitude toward Latvian sovereignty and the independence of the Latvian Communist Party. This is a question primarily of the relations of the republic and its organization with the USSR and the CPSU and with their leaders and central authorities. Consequently, it is a question of how to build and restructure these relations, considering the economic and political realities precisely of the recent period, the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th CPSU Congress included.

Above all it is a matter of how the problem of Latvia's sovereignty stands in the context of the restructuring of the whole union. Undoubtedly, the aspirations of each people and each individual to freedom, independence and self-determination are inextinguishable and objective. For this reason democratization in the life of our country is nothing other than a movement away from the unitary state toward a free alliance of free peoples, in which each national-state formation may independently choose forms of lifestyle and also the institutions and symbols of statehood. We must formulate our position

on questions of the status of the Latvian SSR and changes therein in the processes of perestroika, recognizing fully and consistently the right of nations to self-determination and universal human rights.

As recorded in the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress, we categorically reject the Stalinist, essentially unitary, model of state system and advocate the building of a free alliance of free republics. After all, our ideal is, truly, not standardization but unity in diversity.

The Latvian Communist Party has repeatedly emphasized clearly and definitely that it supports a sovereign and democratic Latvia, but sees the status of Latvian sovereignty not as an end in itself but as the most rational means which under actual conditions will make it possible to successfully accomplish the process of perestroika on the basis of the principles of democratic socialism and achieve a quality of life for the people of Latvia which is worthy of man. I believe that the proposition of the CPSU Central Committee Platform, in accordance with which the purpose of improving the Soviet federation is the harmonization of interethnic relations and the establishment of the optimum relations between the union republics as sovereign states and their common formation, the Soviet Union, is highly significant.

It is obvious that the freedom of the independent republics and equality and a voluntary approach in the delegation to the Union of a precisely determined part of their sovereign rights in the name of achieving common goals are an essential condition of the wholeness of the Union itself.

In any event, I emphasize once more that the stimulus to unity must be internal. External threats and persuasion or pressure will not produce positive results. We can build a free alliance of free peoples if we are comprehensively interested in one another and not condemned to joint existence under the pressure of some outside forces.

In addition, we will be free and sovereign all together or none of us will be. The people or state which hopes to realize its freedom at the expense of the freedom of others will never be free. The years of perestroika testify that each republic must itself know how and manage to negotiate the path of its sovereignty, but, for all that, we will reach the goal in unity with the progressive forces of the whole union.

Incidentally, let us not forget that the Lettish people's aspiration to independence may today be freely expressed and grow primarily thanks to the fact that essentially for the first time since Latvia has been a part of it the prerequisites have been created in the Soviet Union for the actual recognition and realization of nations' right to self-determination and for a cardinal restructuring of the unitary state.

It seems to me that the question of whether Latvia needs sovereignty and independence or not was answered back

last June. Whoever has not seen this or is pretending not to see it is occupying in this case a fundamentally conservative position. It is today a question of how to achieve Latvia's independence. The times show that it absolutely will not be by a disregard for reality but through the purposeful and persistent transformation of it. Absolutely not by the construction of speculative designs of Latvia's independence de jure or de facto but by the confirmation of it by daily toil, restructuring step by step the federation of Soviet republics and cementing each component of independence into a system of economic sovereignty.

Of course, it is possible for a certain time to give rise to euphoria in the masses and acquire popularity with the aid of slogans about the kind of independence which counterpoises Latvia to the rest of the Soviet Union and is emotionally highly attractive for a part of society.

But it is also obvious that the inevitable consequences of such slogans and actions would be a loss outside of Latvia of necessary partners in economic and political cooperation and a dangerous exacerbation of social and interethnic relations within Latvia itself.

I am convinced that our path is active support for the foreign and domestic policy of M. Gorbachev and persistent expansion of Latvia's actual independence. It has been charted by the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Latvian SSR, the Latvian Communist Party Action Program and the laws on economic sovereignty. On this path not only will we not lose partners but just the opposite, we will meet increasingly new allies and companions. We cannot, however, deny that in the reality of the past three years we have considerably outpaced many others and have, consequently, verified some of the economic and political reforms at which the whole Soviet Union has today arrived. This is also confirmed by the Platform of the CPSU Central Committee, which expresses a number of proposals which were extensively supported in the social and political life of the republic more than a year ago. I therefore believe that we may to a large extent also link guarantees of Latvia's further stable development with the cardinal reform of the Union of Soviet Republics proposed by CPSU Central Committee plenums and the pre-congress platform, as a result of which the sovereignty of all republics, of Latvia included, will be realized at a fundamentally new level.

The creation of a new model of the Union means, of course, several years' work, but it needs to be started at once. The Latvian Communist Party has for a long time now been advocating the necessity of stable treaty relations, which would guarantee the rights and possibilities of each republic, the Latvian SSR included, being made the basis of a new model of the union and the independent solution of all questions of its state, economic, and social life. The jurisdiction of the USSR would, accordingly, encompass the questions which the republics, by voluntary agreement, hand over to the central legislative and executive authorities.

Concluding this theme, I wish once again to return to the frequently used symbol of the path of Latvia's sovereignty. Like any problem of perestroyka, this also will not be resolved by dividing and counterpoising the democratic forces but by strengthening them throughout the state. And the path of Latvia's sovereignty leads by no means away from the USSR or against it but from the unitary state toward an alliance of free republics together with all the forces in society and the party which are struggling for a cardinal restructuring of the USSR.

Thus our path is one of stability, a comprehensive approach, partnership, and cooperation, not dashing leaps, striking poses, and ardent slogans. We all wish, however, to be realists and worthy of the people's trust. So let us not forget that the people do not deserve again and again to have to foot the bill of exchange written out by the facile hand of populists.

Latvia will be independent and democratic to the extent that we ourselves are such and to the extent that unaided, each day in the fields and at the factories, in the schools and hospitals and anywhere we can build and can prove to ourselves and the world that we know how to and can do this.

This has been about the ways to achieve Latvia's independence within the context of a restructuring of the USSR. Closely connected with this problem are questions of achieving the Latvian Communist Party's independence in the context of a restructuring of the whole CPSU. I believe that in this sphere also the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress contains interesting innovations.

Let us begin with the fact that the aim of the republic's communists when deciding questions of restructuring the party itself and its independence is undoubtedly an independent and democratic party of a socialist choice, which is declared in the platform.

We are making of the Latvian Communist Party one of these, not counterpoising it to but dialectically rethinking its independence and unity with the CPSU. The question of what type of relations there will be between the Latvian Communist Party and the CPSU and of whether there will be relations at all in the process of restructuring the party would seem one of the most pressing currently.

Just like the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress, we reject as unacceptable in our mutual relations the practice which existed earlier and which still exists of subordination and tutelage on the part of the central authorities of the CPSU. Consequently, not simply unity or independence but a new dialectic of unity and independence, a new model—this is what we should be thinking about.

First of all, about unity. Given the party's new appearance, this means fidelity to a common ideological basis—the policy of perestroyka, the principles of humane, democratic socialism and the priority of values

common to all mankind both vertically (in relations with the executive authorities of the CPSU) and horizontally (in relations with the party organizations of other republics).

In turn, unity today in no event means nor may be connected with subordination, administrative-directive leadership, organizational diktat or petty tutelage both between party organizations of the republics and in their relations with the executive authorities of the CPSU.

The ideal of the Latvian Communist Party, in its struggle for independence, cannot be detachment and self-isolation from the forces of perestroyka and democratization in our country and the world. Ultimately, only unity in its modern understanding will afford the Latvian Communist Party an opportunity to be an active and consistent force of perestroyka in the republic and determine its place in the spectrum of these forces throughout the Soviet Union. Thanks to this community, the Latvian Communist Party will make its contribution to the democratic political struggle by constitutional means for ensuring for each member of society a quality of life which is worthy of man.

I therefore believe that the independence of the Latvian Communist Party is attainable through a cardinal restructuring of the relations of subordination, petty diktat, and tutelage on the part of the executive authorities of the CPSU into relations of mutual equal cooperation and partnership, and not as the result of the abrupt mechanical severance of them.

In conclusion, a few words about the second side of this coin, so to speak—about how to understand the independence of the Latvian Communist Party. It is unambiguously clear, I believe, that it must encompass all spheres of the life of the organization in the field of its activity and also in the solution of any internal question.

We may consider the propositions concerning the communist parties of the union republics, also recorded in the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress, as a certain guarantee of just such a solution to the question of the independence of the Latvian Communist Party and the unity of the whole party. Provision is made here for their rights and opportunities to draw up and adopt their documents of a program and statutory type and create the direct, assured and equal representation of each party organization in the executive authorities of the CPSU and also for their right to demand discussion of any question at a CPSU Central Committee plenum in the event of a conflict between a republic party organization and an executive body of the CPSU.

I believe that we must move boldly forward precisely in this direction and specify our rights in a well-conceived manner, calling things by their name, and seek the considered application of the principles of federalism in party building.

And a further fundamentally important conclusion, it would seem, is that the independence of the Latvian Communist Party will acquire real content only if we can consistently dissociate ourselves from the practice, which has become rooted over the years, of the republic party organization being directed from outside.

We have a single aim—an independent and democratic party of Latvia's forces of the left. But we will achieve it only by stimulating in this party the dialectical relationship of unity and independence.

It is therefore unjustified and mistaken to conceive of and imagine today's path of the Latvian Communist Party toward its independence as a struggle against the CPSU, and not as a struggle for the restructuring and democratization of the Latvian Communist Party and the whole of the CPSU.

Consequently, the simplistic contrasting of the CPSU and the Latvian Communist Party (either the Latvian Communist Party within the CPSU or outside it) should be seen as populism at all costs, and by no means as a serious and realistic component of the reform of the party of forces of the left.

Consequently, the objective and necessary struggle of the Latvian Communist Party for its independence and its declaration and, even more, realization are today conceivable and possible not as a severance of relations with the CPSU but as a cardinal transformation of the relations of centralism, administrative leadership and subordination into relations of mutual cooperation and partnership.

Although very significant, the above-mentioned problems of restructuring the party are, nonetheless, certain problems of an entire complex. I hope that these reflections will help, if only slightly, the more particular and clearer perception in such complex and contradictory restructuring work of a political dominant of the Latvian Communist Party, namely, the utmost aspiration to a stabilizing and consolidating influence on society and an endeavor to attune communists to responsible specific work in the interests of the cardinal renovation and democratization of the party.

Latvian CP Bureau on Congress, Personnel

90UN1140B Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
22 Feb 90 p 1

[LATINFORM report: "In the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A session of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has examined and approved a plan of measures pertaining to preparations for the 25th Latvian Communist Party Congress. In accordance with the decisions of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee 18th Plenum, a number of working groups has been formed for organizational, ideological and administrative-economic support for the preparation

and realization of a congress of the republic party organization, and their basic tasks and deadlines for their accomplishment determined. The fundamental questions which in the period prior to the congress even must be submitted for examination by a Central Committee plenum and the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau were cited. Among these, a Central Committee plenum should examine, in March approximately, the draft program and statutory documents of the Latvian Communist Party to be put to the 25th Congress, and in May, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee report to the 25th Congress of the republic party organization. In the period March through May the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau also plans to conduct a series of working meetings in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee with representatives of the workers, peasantry and intelligentsia, party committee secretaries, raykom and gorkom [rayon and city party committee] bureau members and rayon and city party organization first secretaries.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau session examined proposals and critical observations expressed at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee 18th Plenum. The members of the Bureau approved a list of remarks critical of the CPSU Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo expressed at the plenum. This list has been sent to the CPSU Central Committee. In respect of the other observations and proposals, those responsible for and the timeframe of their consideration and realization were determined, as were also the forms of supervising their fulfillment.

Members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau examined a statistical account of the composition and replaceability of party personnel in the Latvian Communist Party in the past year. The account was approved, but serious concern was expressed in the course of the discussion at the slackening of attention to problems of the selection, training, and assignment of party cadres in a number of raykoms and gorkoms and in the Central Committee. Specifically, the considerable replaceability of senior party officials was noted, and although the level of general and specialized education, the composition of party cadres, the proportion among them of women and a number of other indicators remain stable, certain undesirable trends have emerged, nonetheless. The Bureau members distinguished among them, for example, a certain aging of the party cadres and the existence of a considerable number of vacancies both in the raykoms and gorkoms and in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

There was a considerable increase in the past year in the proportion of elective party officials elected from several nominations, as the extensive, democratic discussion of this in the party organizations, and certain other components of the democratization of party life came to be used in personnel work more extensively.

A most important task of the party committees of all levels in the field of personnel policy remains a restructuring of the entire system of retraining and improving party officials for considerable numbers of them, of raykom and gorkom instructors, say, have a length of service in professional party work of less than a year, and their experience and professional skills are manifestly insufficient under the current difficult conditions of the restructuring of society as a whole, the party included.

The Central Committee Bureau session also discussed certain other questions of the Latvian Communist Party's organizational and ideological activity.

Latvian Decree Outlines Local Self-Management Measures

90UN1136A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
24 Feb 90 p 1

[Text of 15 February 1990 Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet decree: "Decree of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet: On the Creation of a People's Self-Management System"]

[Text] In order to provide for independent solution, by the rural district [volost], urban settlement [poselok], rayon within a city, city, or rayon population, of the problems in its territory's economic and social development and environmental protection, as well as in the realization of citizens' rights and liberties, the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. The following rules for transition to a system of people's self-management are established in the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic:

The transition to a people's self-management system will be effected gradually, by means of creating a two-level people's self-management administrative system, the first level of which will consist of the rural districts, the urban settlements, the rayon cities, and the rayons within cities; and the second, of the rayons and the republic cities. In this regard, there are henceforth to be the designations: rural soviets are rural districts [volosti], city settlements are urban settlements [poselki], cities of rayon subordination are rayon cities, and cities of republic subordination are republic cities.

2. The creation of self-managing administrative units in their territory is to be the primary task of rural district, urban settlement, city, and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies.

For recognition of a self-managing administrative unit's status, the rural district, urban settlement, city, and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies will work out the self-managing rural district's, urban settlement's, city's, or rayon's economic and social foundation, on the basis of which the appropriate rayon Soviet of People's Deputies will make the decision concerning the rural district's, urban settlement's, or rayon city's transition to self-management, and the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet will make the decision concerning a rayon's or republic

city's transition. From the moment of recognition of a self-managing administrative unit's status, the Latvian SSR law on rural district, city, or rayon self-management, as applicable, will take full effect within the limits of its territory.

Until passage of the Law on the City of Riga's Self-Management, the Latvian SSR Law on City Self-Management will be in effect within the city and its rayons' territorial confines. The Riga City Soviet, in coordination with the rayon soviets, will establish the division of authority between the Riga city Soviet of People's Deputies and its executive and administrative agencies, and the city of Riga's rayon Soviets of People's Deputies and their executive and administrative agencies.

The Latvian SSR Law on Rural District Self-Management will be in effect within the territorial confines of Latvian SSR urban settlements.

3. The appropriate Latvian SSR ministries, state committees, and departments are to transfer to the ownership, use, and disposition of rayon and city (republic city) Soviets of People's Deputies, in the manner prescribed by the Latvian SSR Government, the following state facilities located within the latter's administrative territory, according to the situation on 1 January 1990:

—the enterprises for common-use everyday services, trade, and public nourishment;

—the organizations for community and housing operation and their corresponding infrastructures;

—the industrial and transportation enterprises, as well as the water-supply and heating enterprises and the other enterprises that serve the territory;

—the general education schools and other educational institutions, the children's preschool institutions, and the cultural, public health, and social welfare institutions of local designation.

The indicated enterprises, organizations, and institutions will be transferred along with their fixed and working capital, as well as their budgetary allocations and the material and equipment resources belonging to them. The powers of self-managing organs of the different levels in managing these enterprises, organizations, and institutions will be established by appropriate agreements.

4. The rural district, urban settlement, and city Soviet of People's Deputies will:

1) Resolve the issue of state real property transfer to Soviet of People's Deputies ownership jointly with the rayon soviet.

2) Work out the agreements that the rayon is to conclude with the rural district, urban settlement, or city jointly with the rayon soviet and its executive committee. The mutual rights and obligations in managing

the productional and social infrastructure facilities located on rural district, urban settlement, or city territory, and in making disposition of the corresponding monetary resources, will be specified in these agreements.

3) Conclude agreements with the enterprises, organizations, and institutions located on rural district, urban settlement, or city territory and using the territory's resources.

In this regard, previously operating enterprises, organizations, and institutions are obliged to conclude temporary agreements, in accordance with the procedure established by the Latvian SSR Government, on the terms of their being granted land, buildings, and local resources, and on the procedure for transition to long-term agreements.

The appropriate soviet will resolve independently, within the limits of its authority, the questions of granting forming enterprises, organizations, and institutions permission to begin economic activity, and of placing land and other natural resources at their disposal.

4) Withdraw the permission granted them to begin economic activity on its administrative territory, or suspend their activity, in the case of enterprises, organizations, and institutions which violate the terms of a concluded agreement. The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers will resolve disagreements arising in these matters.

5) Establish the general rules of service for all enterprises, organizations, and institutions performing a community, everyday, trade, medical, or other service for the residents in its administrative territory.

The soviet may delegate the actions indicated in this point to its executive committee.

5. The agencies and officials performing state management or control functions on the territory of a rural district, urban settlement, or rayon city are to be subordinate to, and under the supervision of, the rayon Soviet of People's Deputies or an appropriate state organ. In cases provided for by Latvian SSR laws, the aforementioned agencies and officials may also perform certain functions in the interest of rural district or city (rayon city) management.

6. The powers of the currently functioning rayon and city Committees of People's Control, provided for by the Latvian SSR Constitution and the Law on People's Control in the USSR, are to be extended to the rayon and city Soviets of People's Deputies until reorganization of the system for state and public control in the Latvian SSR.

7. The Soviets of People's Deputies are to establish the organization and pay scale of the workers in the soviet apparatus and its executive and administrative agencies, in the manner prescribed by the Latvian SSR Supreme

Soviet Presidium and the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, for the transition period.

Provision for the funds to cover expenditures associated with the establishment of local self-management will be made in the local budgets.

8. A commission is to be formed for the preparation of proposals concerning amendments and additions to the Latvian SSR Constitution, the Latvian SSR Code of Administrative Crimes, the Latvian SSR Civil Process Code, and other Latvian SSR legislative acts, stemming from the Latvian SSR laws on rural district, city, and rayon self-management.

The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is charged with prescribing the commission's personnel makeup and organizing its work.

9. The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers are tasked with creating a republic interdepartmental working agency to ensure the preparation for and establishment of local self-management, and to train and certify self-management workers.

10. The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, as well as the republic's ministries and departments, are to bring the existing legislative and normative acts into accord with the laws on local self-management.

11. The republic's mass information media are to extensively explain the methods of applying the Latvian SSR laws on local self-management.

12. This decree will lose its force after recognition of the legal status of all Latvian SSR self-managing administrative units.

A. Gorbunov, chairman,
Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium I. Daudish,
secretary,
Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
Riga. 15 February 1990.

Latvian Ministry of Economics Created

90P50003A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
4 Apr 90 p 1

[LATINFORM report: "Economic Chronicle"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR has passed a decree which until further notice delineates some of the rights and functions of the republic's recently created Ministry of Economics. The decree notes in part that orders, instructions and directions issued by the Ministry are binding for all the republic's ministries and departments as well as for associations, enterprises, organizations, and institutes regardless of their departmental subordination. The ministry's top consultative body is the Economic Council; the minister will bear personal responsibility for all its decisions.

The Scientific Research Institute for Planning, the Latvian Scientific Research Institute for Scientific and Technical Information and Technical Economic Research, the Scientific Technical Library of the Latvian SSR, and the republic's Center for Employment, Training and Career Counseling will be subordinated to the Ministry of Economics.

Lithuanian Central Committee Plenum Appeal

90UN1101B Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 21 Feb 90 p 1

["Appeal of the Participants of the Third Plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] Lithuanian communists and confederates!

Two months have passed since the day the Lithuanian communists chose the path of independence. The 7 February 1990 decree of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "On the Decisions of the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party," does not change the intention of the Lithuanian Communist Party to be independent. We direct the attention of Lithuanian communists to the fact that the speeches of the secretaries of the temporary Central Committee organization of the CPSU in Lithuania at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum as well as their present activities in the republic once more prove clearly that this is not even a part of the CPSU that is restructuring itself but rather a Brezhnevian, conservative group in it whose activities lead to confrontation instead of consolidation.

Having objectively evaluated the past and the present, we are today in favor of that which unites instead of divides individuals, people, and states, and that which guarantees peace in the world. We call upon all honorable communists to accompany the inhabitants of Lithuania and its independent Communist Party. We respect every person, and we are prepared to carry on the cause that the people have begun. However, in the electoral contest we again hear empty promises and extreme political and economic declarations which kindle opposition and mistrust for the independent Lithuanian Communist Party. Of course, it is the citizens of Lithuania who will themselves decide who will represent them in the Supreme Soviet. We appeal to all residents of Lithuania to rally even closer in the name of the common goal—the restoration of an independent democratic Lithuanian state and its international recognition. The Lithuanian Communist Party, declaring itself in favor of a constitutional, parliamentary path for achieving this goal, calls upon the Supreme Soviet and the government of the republic to begin negotiations with the USSR as soon as possible concerning the restoration of an independent Lithuanian state and the establishment of normal state ties.

The Lithuanian communists understand that negotiations with the USSR about the rebirth of Lithuanian independence will be difficult and extremely crucial, and they foresee the possible dangers. Therefore we again call

upon Lithuanians and people of other nationalities to unite and work for the good of Lithuania so that the common expectations will be stronger than the irresponsible efforts to divide our society. The main thing for us is a free Lithuania, the well-being of its inhabitants, and our future.

Loyal Lithuanian CP Activities Viewed

90UN1127A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 24 Feb 90 p 2

[Articles by V. Mokrushin and S. Bykhun under single headline: "A Dialog Is Needed"]

[Text] Our correspondents in Klaipeda and Vilnius talk about where the Lithuanian communists loyal to the program of the CPSU are headed and what kind of tasks they are pursuing.

The Communist Party of Lithuania [LiCP] loyal to the program of the CPSU held a city conference in Klaipeda. V. Kikolenko and M. Manchinskiy, members of the provisional coordinating committee who opened the conference, cited the following data: Of almost 15,000 communists in the city, more than one-third, about 6,000, support the program of the CPSU. What do they do for a living and what do they think about in these complicated times?

At the conference a peaceful, reasonable tone and thoughtful evaluations prevailed, and proposals were constructed with regard for the actual situation and real opportunities. In all the various judgments that were heard in the speeches, a dominating idea with respect to the main point was clearly defined: the fate of Lithuania. While implicitly supporting the desire of the Lithuanian people for economic, cultural, and political sovereignty, the conference unanimously declared that all this can and must be achieved as part of a revitalized federation. S. Grechuk, an engineer with the Zapadnyy ship repair factory, noted in the discussions that the immediate conclusion of a new union agreement able to bring relations between the republics and the central authorities to a new level would contribute to a weakening of centrifugal attitudes. Defending the idea of a federative state, I. Valkaukas, representative of the communists of Klaipedskiy Rayon and team leader at the Gargzhday-skiy kombinat for construction materials, directed the attention of the delegates to the need for an honest and straightforward discussion of the pluses and minuses and of the difficulties that await Lithuania in the event of its secession from the Union.

At the conference much attention was devoted to the effects of the separation of the LiCP. Is the strategic orientation of the communists remaining loyal to the program of the CPSU to be confrontation or dialog? And again realism gained the upper hand: The majority of the speakers emphasized the opportunity and the need for cooperation with all progressive forces operating in the republic, including those colleagues supporting the independent LiCP. There exist a number of examples where

two and even three communist parties have existed and continue to exist, i.e., in Spain, India, and Finland. A. Barvenov, head of studies at the secondary school imeni Gorkiy, stressed that there are many spheres for cooperation: The ecology, the fight against the bureaucracy and for harmony among the nationalities, implementation of the law on economic independence, and the maintenance of the Army.

Listening to this speech, I recalled party meetings from a year ago. They were as different as sky and earth. Back then, for the most part, emotions raged and overwhelmed reason. Of course, such an arrangement did not serve to consolidate society. Today's conference was very different from those others, and a constructive spirit prevailed.

Undoubtedly the party can only regain its authority through efficiency—this thought was uppermost throughout the entire conference.

Therefore demands sounded from the conference rostrum for the future secretary not to cut himself off from the communists with a cumbersome apparat and to stay closer to the people. It was emphasized that special attention should be paid to the youth organizations that have remained loyal to the program of the Union Komsomol.

I. Bremkauskas, who had previously worked as leader of a state receiving center at the "Klaipeda" design and construction association, was elected first secretary by secret ballot. V. Nikolenko and P. Barovskiy were elected secretaries. V. Chekayev, secretary of the party committee at a ship repair factory, was also elected secretary of the gorkom [city party committee] on social principles.

[Signed] V. Mokrushin.

The results of the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the goals of the Lithuanian communists loyal to the program of the CPSU, the subsequent fate of the republic and of its citizens, mutual relations with the LiCP, the depoliticizing of the republic's organs of law enforcement, attitudes toward servicemen, the elections to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of the republic—these are the fundamental issues that were discussed at a 21 February meeting of the aktiv of the Communist Party (loyal to the CPSU) in Vilnius.

The party aktiv meeting was opened by M. Burokyavichyus, secretary of the provisional LiCP Central Committee (loyal to the CPSU). V. Shved, secretary of the temporary Central Committee, A. Chistyakov, secretary of the Vilnius party gorkom, and V. Antonov, member of the bureau of the provisional Central Committee, also gave reports.

In his report V. Shved noted that the essence of the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum was consistently and systematically being distorted in the republic

to the effect that it allegedly contributed to the final split of the LiCP. But, in the opinion of the speaker, the CPSU Central Committee Plenum only ascertained the situation that had arisen in the republic's party organizations and gave an objective evaluation of it.

A. Chistyakov noted in his report that whatever relations between the communist parties take shape, the Lithuanian people expect concrete and tangible results from perestroika. And the primary task of the LiCP loyal to the program of the CPSU, as the speaker noted, is to design and inform all the residents of the republic of a program of concrete actions directed at repairing the economy, solving social problems, and protecting people's rights.

It is all the more important because 16 raykoms [rayon party committees] and gorkoms (loyal to the CPSU) have already been created.

The speaker said, "At the moment, we do not have enough organization and clarity in our work and thought-out actions in this plan."

Regarding the activities of the Vilnius city party organization, A. Chistyakov noted that 267 local party organizations, which number 15,000 communists in their ranks, are currently operating in it.

Dwelling for the most part on issues concerning the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic and the republic's local soviets, V. Antonov noted that 91 communists (loyal to the CPSU) are registered as candidates for deputy to the Supreme Soviet.

I. Yakulis, secretary of the party gorkom (loyal to the CPSU) and delegate to the 20th LiCP Congress, noted in his speech that the authority of the LiCP (loyal to the CPSU) will increase if the provisional Central Committee will state clearly to the republic's inhabitants its position on all vitally important issues and outline concrete ways to resolve them.

"We must also not forget about explanatory work," said the secretary, "particularly with regard to what the average Lithuanian worker should expect in the event that Lithuania withdraws from the USSR."

A. Kulakov, first secretary of the Snechkus Gorkom (loyal to the CPSU), informed the participants of the party aktiv meeting of the situation in the city party organizations: The activity of the communists has increased, work in the local party organizations has become more brisk, and the confidence of party members in the rightness of their cause has begun to grow stronger.

It must be noted that there was also criticism of the provisional Central Committee in a number of the speeches of the participants of the party aktiv meeting. For instance V. Bakulin, second secretary of the Shauliai Gorkom (loyal to the CPSU), warned those present that the provisional LiCP Central Committee

must not only devote the necessary attention to organizational issues but also render concrete aid to the party organizations toward the resolution of key issues in the life of the republic.

The participants of the party aktiv meeting were also very interested in the speech of V. Lazutki, doctor of philosophy and department head at the Vilnius higher party school. In particular, V. Lazutki emphasized that the concept of "two wings" in the LiCP, about which M.S. Gorbachev spoke, no longer corresponds to reality. This has become especially apparent after the Third LiCP Central Committee Plenum and the appeal by its participants to the communists of Lithuania.

At the meeting of the party aktiv, considerable significance was given to issues of depoliticizing the republic's law enforcement organs and the attitudes of Lithuania's residents toward servicemen.

Participants at the meeting of the aktiv passed a resolution on issues that were discussed as well as a statement on the occasion of the appeal of the Third LiCP Central Committee Plenum to the communists of Lithuania.

[Signed] S. Bykhun.

IZVESTIYA Views Lithuanian Election Results

90UN1087C Moscow *IZVESTIYA* in Russian
28 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by L. Kapelyushnyy from Vilnius: "There Will Be a Coalition Government"]

[Text] **Judging by the preliminary results of the elections, Lithuania will have a coalition government.**

Of the 90 newly elected deputies, exactly half do not belong to any party. The "Greens" received three seats, the Christian Democrats two, and the Social Democrats 10.

It was the first time I heard them speak of the two opposing communist parties with some kind of unity... "The Communists received 31 places," said Yu. Bulavas, chairman of the republic's electoral commission at a press conference. Then the necessary clarification followed: The independent Lithuanian Communist Party received 27 seats and the Lithuanian Communist Party loyal to the CPSU received four. I ask you to pay attention to the latter figure: In the preliminary results, which we also reported, the figure was five.

The runoffs, most likely, will not change the distribution of forces.

Despite the fact that "Sajudis" does not appear in the list of parties, it won the elections. It nominated 72 of the 90 deputies. Fifteen of them are members of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party. Among these are members of both the Central Committee and the bureau.

Political analysts are already laying out the cards: Whom will the parliament trust with the leadership of the

Supreme Soviet? Next to that of Algirdas Brazauskas some completely unexpected names are surfacing. Who knows whether the first session promises more surprises? Although, if we speak in terms of record trust of the voters in their candidate, A. Brazauskas has no rival; in his district 92 percent voted for him. I will note that the leader of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party had a rather strong opponent and no one created an atmosphere of the greatest consideration for him. On the contrary, the Communist Party was subjected to severe and, as it seems to me, not always justified criticism.

The leadership of the republic's electoral commission noted that on the whole the elections went off peacefully and the candidates showed one another sufficient respect.

Journalists twice applauded when flowers were presented at a press conference that took place. The first time was when they were presented to commission chairman Yu. Bulavas for recognition of the complexity of the commission's role in these elections. And again when they were presented to Cheslov Yurshenas, a leading government press spokesman. In a difficult, multi-candidate contest our colleague earned the trust of his voters and became a people's deputy of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Lithuanian Election Results Considered

90UN1087B Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 28 Feb 90 p 2

[Article by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA correspondent R. Motskus, in Vilnius: "Lithuania: Profile of a Coalition"]

[Text] **Ninety of one hundred forty-one deputies have been named in the recent elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.**

The fate of 45 more positions will be determined in two weeks when the two candidates chosen for each seat by the greatest number of voters in the first round compete in a runoff. Repeat elections (on 7 April) have been designated in five districts because neither of the two candidates received the necessary majority. An electoral district in Snechkus stands by itself because social organizations called for a boycott of the elections and only 36 percent of the voters came to the ballot boxes. S. Pirozhkov, a worker at the Ignalinskiy AES and the sole candidate in that district, also quit of course, but the conflict is connected more with the other candidate—Bishop Antonio, leader of the Vilensk and Lithuanian bishopric, who was sent to Tobolsk before the elections by the Holy Synod and had to withdraw his candidacy.

What kind of distribution of political forces can be expected in the new Lithuanian parliament? The initial results show that the majority of them do not belong to a party. There are 45 of these among the deputies already elected. The Communist Party of Lithuania received 27

seats and the Lithuanian Communist Party (loyal to the CPSU) received four. The Social Democrats have nine seats, representatives of the "Greens" have three, and the Christian Democrats, two. The Lithuanian Komsomol and the Democratic Party have zero for the time being. The majority of the elected deputies consist of people supported by "Sajudis" in its lists.

All four secretaries of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee succeeded on their first attempt at competition, and A. Brazauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, received the biggest rating—92 percent despite four rivals. The secretaries of the other communist party were unsuccessful: Two of them were knocked out of the contest, and M. Burokyavichyus and V. Shved will go to runoffs trailing by a significant amount.

About 80 percent of the voters took part in the elections. The elections went off peacefully and without incidents. For the first time they were unofficially observed by elected officials of the United States, Canada, and Austria. Local and foreign commentators confirm that Lithuania, the first among the union republics to have conducted elections under conditions of a multiparty system, can look forward to the formation of a coalition government.

...Today newspapers in Lithuania are selling like hot cakes. The radio and television are reading out the results. A heated debate is in progress and projections are being made concerning the 51 untenanted deputy seats. Yes, perestroika is the first step to democracy, to which we are only becoming accustomed. The last such free elections to the Lithuanian parliament took place 64 years ago. Why 64? Because after the military revolution of 1926, the bourgeois dictatorship in Lithuania did not allow the people democracy.

Lithuanian 2nd Round Election Results

90UN1233E Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
6 Mar 90 p 1

[ELTA report: "The Number of Deputies Increases..."]

[Text] The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet grew by 26 more deputies. They were elected on 4 March as a result of a second round of elections.

Voting took place on that day in 28 electoral districts. However, in two of them—the Novovilnyaskiy and Mazheykskiy-Heftyaninkskiy districts—elections did not take place: Less than half of the voters took part in them. In Pavilnis only 282 of the 16,852 ballots the commissions of the electoral precincts had the right to distribute were used to determine the result.

On the whole the activity of the voters was less than on 24 February. Then 71.72 percent of the voters took part in the elections. This time 65.42 percent took part. There

were four instances where more voters voted against a candidate who became deputy than those who voted for him. However at this stage of the elections it is enough to have a simple majority of votes over one's opponent—on the condition that more than half of the voters take part in the elections.

The deputies who were elected are: Niyole Ambrazaitė, Irena Andrukaitė, Zbignevas Baltsevich, Medard Chobot, Eugenijus Gentvilas, Pyatras Ginetas, Vidmantas Yasukaitė, Stasis Kashauskas, Vitautas Kolesnikovas, Arvidas-Kostas Leshchinskis, Iokubas Minkyavichyus, Donatas Morkunas, Česlav Okinčits, Saulius Pečelyunas, Eugenijus Petrovas, Kazimiera-Danute Prunskene, Antanas Rachas, Gintaras Ramonas, Lyudvikas-Nartizas Rasimavicius, Lyudvikas-Saulius Razma, Algirdas Razahauskas, Vladas Terlyatskas, Prantsishkus Tupikas, Alginantas-Vintsas Ulba, Pyatras Vaytekunas, Alfonsas Zhalis. This unofficial list was composed on the basis of the reports of the electoral districts. On 6 March a session of the Republic Electoral Commission will take place at which the elected deputies will be registered. Then the official list will be published in the press.

Of the deputies elected in the second round, 18 supported "Sajudis." Thus, there are now 90 of them out of the 116 in the parliament. Thirty-eight members of the Communist Party of Lithuania, nine Social Democrats, four representatives of the CPLi (loyal to the CPSU), three Lithuanian "Greens," two Christian Democrats, and one member of the Democratic Party have become deputies.

Further elections will take place on 7 March in seven districts, on 8 March in eight districts, and on 10 March in two districts.

Deputies have not been elected in five districts, and elections did not take place in three. In this instance, elections have been set for 7 April. It is possible that this number will grow after the additional rounds of elections, but the necessary quantity of deputies for convocation of the Supreme Soviet already exists.

More Lithuanian Runoff Election Results

90UN1242B Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
8 Mar 90 p 1

[ELTA report: "Another 14 Deputies"]

[Text] Runoff elections in 15 constituencies were held on 7 and 8 March. A further 14 deputies were elected to the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet.

These are their names: Eymontas Grakauskas, Stanislovas-Gediminas Ilgunas, Antanas Karoblis, Algirdas Kumzha, Bronislovas Lubis, Albertas Mishkinis, Jonas Pangonis, Virginijus Pikturna, Vitautas Puplauskas, Kyastutis Rimkus Romanas Rudzis, Rimvidas-Raymondas Survila, Valerijonas Shadreyka and Birute Valenite.

The results of the elections in Plungeskiy Electoral District 71, in which Balis Gayauskas and Raymondas Kashauskas are running, are being clarified.

According to preliminary information, approximately 70 percent of the electorate took part in the elections. The majority of the delegates elected defeated their opponents by a considerable margin. The only exception was Trakayskiy District 139, in which R. Survila won by only 34 votes. The vote there was 11,600.

Thus 130 deputies have already been elected to the Supreme Soviet.

These figures are not official, and the results of the elections held on 7 and 8 March will be discussed by the Republic Electoral Commission. It will meet on 10 March.

Runoff elections are to be held the same day in a further two constituencies—Aregalskiy 85 and Shvenchenskiy 110.

Runoff elections will be held in eight districts in which deputies were not elected on 7 April.

Former 'Terrorist' Elected Lithuanian SSR Deputy

90UN1097A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russia 4 Mar 90
Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Z. Osipov, engineer of PO (Production Association) "Sigma," Vilnius: "Revelation of a Former Terrorist, Who Became a Deputy in the Lithuanian Parliament"]

[Text] Can a person convicted of robbery and murder become a people's deputy?

One does not always want to believe one's eyes. That is the way it was with me when I read in SOVETSKAYA LITVA that Lyudvikas Simutis, a joiner of a hydrogeological expedition, is registered as a candidate for deputy in election district No 31 in Kaunas.

Within a week after the report, the candidate was presented in a solemn atmosphere at a preelection "Sajudis" conference ("Lithuania's Path") as a prisoner of Gulag [Main Directorate of Corrective Labor Camps] and a true Catholic.

So it happened that our past is interwoven and that I know very well who Lyudvikas Simutis is, and I decided to inform the public about who was nominated a candidate for people's deputy. I went to the Lithuanian Communist Party newspaper TESA. The deputy editor, Comrade Stasyukitis, listened to me attentively, but apparently, the paper did not need material of this kind, and he advised me to go to the republic's election commission. I decided to write at once to two addresses—to Chairman of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Algirdas Brazauskas and to Deputy Chairman of the Republic's Election Commission Vatslovas Litvinas.

"I know for certain," I wrote, "that Lyudvikas Simutis was a terrorist and a robber in the past. For his crimes, he was sentenced in 1955 by a decision of the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR to an exceptional measure of punishment. But later it was reduced to 25 years imprisonment.

"Why was Lyudvikas Simutis brought to trial?"

"On 30 November 1953, Simutis committed a terrorist act at the Telsiai railroad station—he killed First Sergeant Maksim Anfimovich Osipov, an employee of the transportation militia. He stole the weapon of the murdered man, a 'TT' pistol [Tula Tokarev pistol], and in October 1954, at the very same Telsiai station, Simutis committed an armed attack on Petr Yermeyevich Yermolayev and wounded him.

"Together with other participants of an armed group, Simutis participated in a number of robberies. In the summer of 1952, he robbed a reading club in the village of Pabalva. In January of 1953, he robbed a store in the same village, stealing goods in the sum of R6,745. In November of 1953, he robbed a store in the village of Berzhenu, stealing commodities in the sum of R28,000. On 13 September 1954, he robbed the office of the Telsiai factory "Mastis." On 12 October 1954, Simutis committed an armed attack on the canteen of the Pavenciai railroad station. And this is not the complete list of crimes...

"I am firmly convinced that this murderer will not be able to conceal his criminal past and pass himself off as 'a victim of Stalinism.' There should be no seat for a terrorist in the Lithuanian parliament."

I also decided to send a copy of this letter to the Kaunas Gorkom [city party committee] of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

I should say that only the Kaunas Gorkom reacted to my letter. They called me up, and they provided some more specific details. Afterwards they called me and said: Alas, everything is true, and the deputy candidate himself does not conceal this, and moreover, he is not sorry for what he did.

Soon you could see Lyudvikas Simutis on the television screen. The reaction to his speech was already noted in the aforementioned TESA—10 lines under the rubric "Telephone Opinions."

I will quote it fully.

"...Deputy candidates appeared in the telecast 'Sunday Morning' from Kaunas day before yesterday. Among them was L. Simutis. He bragged about how he robbed and shot people in postwar Lithuania. Does a person like this have a right to aspire to election to the Supreme Soviet?" The question was asked by Regina Valaytene, a Kaunas resident...

Lyudvikas Simutis and I are almost the same age. He is older than me by a couple of years, and this couple of

years was enough, until "he grew up," to join a gang after the war. First Sergeant Osipov is my own uncle. I memorized forever the name of his murderer, and also the list of his crimes. Not for vengeance. But because such things should not be forgotten.

I have been living in Lithuania since I was three years of age, starting in 1941. This is my motherland. And the Lithuanian people are my people. I in no way place an equal sign between my people and Lyudvikas Sumitis. But, apparently, something is not right in our home, when a majority voted for a murderer, and he is elected to the Lithuanian parliament.

FROM THE EDITORIAL OFFICE. Our correspondent in Lithuania, L. Kapelyushnyy, was directed to verify the letter of Z. Osipov, a lieutenant colonel in the reserve and a soldier-internationalist. The republic's committee of state security confirmed: The cited facts are true.

With respect to Lyudvikas Simutis as a deputy, on 24 February, running as a candidate to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet from the 31 Siančiai election district, he won over his opponent and became a deputy. According to the Law on Elections of the Lithuanian SSR, his deputy position was confirmed by the republic's election commission.

Sabutis Reports on Presidium Activities

*90UN1091A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
14 Feb 90 p 8*

[Report by Lyudvikas Sabutis, secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, at the 17th Session of the Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation: "The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet Proposes..."]

[Text] More and more letters are arriving at the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet in which social organizations and citizens propose that a review be conducted of the list of state and national holidays, and that dates of significance to us be declared legal holidays.

The Presidium discussed the proposals presented as well as the draft version of the law which is before you.

February 16th and the four national holidays—Easter Sunday, Mothers' Day (Sunday), the Day of Remembrance of the Dead, and Christmas—are to be non-work days. June 14th, the Day of Sorrow and Hope, would remain a work day. In order to compensate for the loss of work time, other days could be declared work days—2 May, 7 October (USSR Constitution Day), and 8 November, for example, as I have already stated, which used to be holidays. Consequently, adoption of the law would result in no change in the total number of eight working days and holidays, and no change in scheduled work time. [sentence as published] There would be doubt only with respect to March 8th.

(Editor's note—The draft law presented was adopted and is published in republic newspapers of 9 February.)

Over the period following our 16th session, conducted 15 January, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet did not pass those laws which, according to the republic constitution, should be ratified in the Supreme Soviet. Now briefly about certain resolutions.

On 31 January the Presidium examined the decision of the Shalchininkskiy Rayon soviet of people's deputies which ratified rayon provisions regarding Shalchininksk Polish national-territorial self-rule. The resolution adopted by the Presidium stresses that the rayon soviet is ignoring a 21 September 1989 resolution of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, which declares unlawful the proclamation of a Polish national-territorial rayon on the territory of Shalchininkskiy Rayon. Consequently, requirements of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and laws of the soviets are being violated as before, and discrepancies are increasing. The decision of the rayon soviet was acknowledged as unlawful, and it was proposed that this question be considered again in rayon soviet session.

The Lithuanian SSR Procuracy, law-and-order organs, and other departments of the republic were instructed to check on how the laws in this rayon are being observed and submit information to the Presidium. It was recommended to the soviets of Vilnius City, Ignalinskiy, Shalchininkskiy, Shvenchenskiy, Trakayskiy, and Vilnius rayons, that they form their own public commissions of ethnic minorities to assist in objectively resolving questions of interethnic relations and in consolidating society.

In addition, in order to intensify the community's attention on the political, economic, and social processes which are taking place in eastern Lithuania, and also to spread within this region the ideas of the national and state rebirth of all of Lithuania, a public action council on matters of eastern Lithuania was formed, consisting of 30 individuals. The council was instructed to closely tie its activity to that of permanent commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, ministries and departments, social organizations, and social movements of the republic.

It was noted at the Presidium session that the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers is not accomplishing missions with which it has been entrusted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet with sufficient attention. It failed to execute the 25 January 1989 resolution of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet "On the Regulation of Population Migration in the Republic," and did not take measures to resolve these problems in accordance with lawful procedure. In this regard, the Council

of Ministers was instructed to prepare by 1 March of this year specific administrative and economic measures to regulate the natural growth of population in the republic.

There was discussion of the statement of the Lithuanian SSR Electoral Commission on the procedure for applying Article 32 of the Law on Elections of Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Local Soviets of People's Deputies. It was explained that rayon and city organs of social and political organizations, and of social movements, have the right—in each electoral district formed for electing deputies by any soviet of people's deputies operating in the territory of the given city or rayon—to propose one candidate each to the post of deputy.

Primary organizations of social and political organizations, and of social movements, have the right to propose one candidate each to the post of deputy in the electoral districts for elections of people's deputies in which these primary organizations are located.

The Presidium has instructed the Council of Ministers to form an interdepartmental working commission in connection with the adverse situation which has developed in treatment and labor facilities of the republic due to a general demand on the part of those under care not to be subject to alcohol-abuse or drug-addiction treatment on a compulsory basis. The commission must resolve these issues prior to 31 March of this year, and submit its proposals to the Presidium.

A working group was formed to draw up a draft Law on the Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Court. The group has been instructed to present the draft to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet prior to 1 May.

Certain resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers which could be operational in the territory of our republic were registered, until such time as appropriate laws are drafted and adopted.

Landsbergis Holds 21 Mar Press Conference

90UN1409B Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
23 March 90 pp 1, 3

[Report by ELTA correspondents Y. Bagdanskis and R. Chesna: "Press Conference in the Supreme Council"]

[Text] A press conference for journalists of the republics and foreign countries was held in the evening of 21 March in the Supreme Council. Participating in it were Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the republic of Lithuania Supreme Council; Kazimera Prunskiene, prime minister of the republic of Lithuania; Kazimeras Moteka, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council; Romualdas Ozolas, deputy prime minister; Lyudvikas Sabutis, secretary of the Supreme Council; Emanuelis Zingeris, chairman of the Supreme Council Foreign Affairs Commission; Audrys Butkyavichyus, deputy chairman of the Commission for Protection of the State and Internal Affairs; and Kazimeras Antanavichyus,

chairman of the Economics Commission. The conference was chaired by Algimantas Chekuolis, chief editor of the weekly GIMTASIS KRASHTAS.

Vytautas Landsbergis opened the conference and presented information on the political situation.

Speaking of the problem of recognition of the republic of Lithuania and its new government, he observed that the states which had welcomed the proclamation of independence were continuing to display their goodwill, but not expressing recognition of the new government and their relations with it openly. Some states have declared that recognition of Lithuania is not a problem for them since they recognized the republic of Lithuania in 1921, 1922, or 1923 and never recognized Lithuania's incorporation in the Soviet Union. Denmark recalled this, and this position is supported by France, Belgium, Canada, and many other countries and, of course, the United States.

The French foreign minister has stressed his confidence in the gradual restoration of the legal situation. Of course, from the purely legal viewpoint the situation is legal even now, but account is taken of the statements of the Soviet Union to the effect that its sovereignty extends to Lithuania, as before. Meanwhile negotiations are under way between Lithuania and Moscow—this also was said in the above-mentioned statement, and this is in reality the case, although there are no direct negotiations, there is an exchange of statements and opinions—and we have noticed efforts of a kind on the part of the Soviet Union exerting pressure on the Scandinavian countries that they take things slowly and not recognize our government, right away, at least. Some states are employing terminology to the effect that their recognition will depend on whether the Soviet Union comes to an arrangement with Lithuania. If they really adhere to such a guideline, they will find themselves in a very strange political dependence on the Soviet Union, will find themselves in a vicious circle, escape from which will require an act of will, when the concepts of "conscience" and "honor" gain the ascendancy over pragmatic considerations and speculation. In the Scandinavian countries the Soviet embassies are operating in the same direction, warning that if these countries recognize Lithuania's independence, their relations with the Soviet Union will be strained. We knew that our relations would be such and that this would subsequently abate, which would mean that in one more country, in one more corner of the world justice had conquered. Each country which contributes to the victory of justice makes its contribution to the indivisible idea of justice and its victory in relations between people in the world. And most significant in this respect is the White House statement cautioning the Soviet Union in connection with the intimidation and psychological tension, and I, speaking in the Supreme Council today, expressed gratitude to this state for such support.

Anticipating a question about troop movements in Lithuania, V. Landsbergis said: according to our information, there has been an increase in Lithuania in the

number of units of airborne forces transferred to Lithuania from elsewhere, and some of them are close to Vilnius and Kaunas. We do not know the number but Western countries, which should have an interest in knowing precisely where and what kind of forces are deployed by the Soviet Union, outside of its state particularly, could help determine it, possibly.

Answering a question concerning the position occupied by certain countries in respect of Lithuania, Vitautas Landsbergis said that they should not accept Soviet terminology concerning one-sided proclamations of independence as a negative phenomenon. Were we to wait for Lithuania's independence to be proclaimed simultaneously in Vilnius and Lithuania, this day would never come, he emphasized. Commenting on the information concerning Spetsnaz sabotage groups which had shown up in Lithuania, Vitautas Landsbergis observed that the sole thing to be feared was some madness on the part of the military. Everyone believed, however, that sense would prevail....

Many foreign journalists inquired about the fate awaiting the Lithuanian youths returning from Soviet Army units, whether negotiations concerning them were being conducted with Moscow and whether the use of military force on the part of the USSR for the purpose of destabilizing the situation in the republic were possible.

No negotiations on the recall of these youths from Soviet Army units are being conducted at the present time, Kazimeras Moteka reported. The command of the Baltic Military District has warned that boys who have come home should be returned to their units. However strange, the military, like the USSR people's deputies assembled for their third congress also, simply do not wish to understand that, having proclaimed independence, we are free. Concerning the fate of the young men who have returned, we have been warned that after 24 March measures will be adopted for their return. The republic Supreme Council Presidium has adopted a decree by which the republic will take them under its protection. The young men are being registered in the Supreme Council. In K. Moteka's opinion, they, as citizens of a free country, should be guaranteed the human rights stipulated by the international convention and other agreements, which have been signed by the Soviet Union also. And if violence is employed, the world will evaluate this.... We believe that public opinion will help protect them. It has to be thought that sober minds will emerge in the Soviet Union also.

But what does Moscow think about this? Deputy Mechis Laurinkus inquired about this in the USSR Parliament. He had the impression that no attention was being paid to this urgent problem, so, at least, it seems.

"How many such youths have returned to Lithuania?"

"Approximately 300 have registered, and a further twice as many have not," Audrys Butkyavichyus, deputy chairman of the Commission for Protection of the State and Internal Affairs, replied. "Officers who have come

from the units are keeping a watch on those who are already in their home areas and they are persuading the parents and other relatives and neighbors that the boys should return to their units."

A. Butkyavichyus also observed that 2,000 airborne forces had shown up at this time in Kazlu-Ruda. In addition, the journalists were told that special sabotage units, which could begin provocative actions to create a precedent for the use of force, had been deployed in Vilnius and Kaunas or at the approaches to them.

Many questions concerning a possible economic blockage of Lithuania on the part of the USSR and the prospects for the development of the republic's economy were put to Kazimera Prunskene, prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania. Her replies may be summarized approximately as follows: First, the leaders of the USSR have declared officially that an economic blockade is not contemplated and that, second, N. Ryzhkov has declared in writing that the USSR also had an interest in the preservation of normal economic relations with Lithuania. Such a position is perfectly realistic. If Lithuania needs a great deal from its neighbors, raw material primarily, the neighbors also need a great deal from Lithuania—cement, foodstuffs, and many types of industrial products, consumer goods specifically. Lithuania complies with contract commitments better than other republics, which is appreciated in the Soviet Union. I believe that individual republics which acquire greater independence and individual industrial complexes or enterprises of the USSR will be interested in reciprocal supplies and commodity exchange.

Incidentally, a journalist from Siberia at the press conference said that, according to his information, the leaders of the Tyumen oil fields were very interested in relations with Lithuania.

Kazimera Prunskene emphasized also that many problems pertaining to economic cooperation were being received from Western firms. Specific agreements with FRG businessmen in connection with the building of enterprises processing agricultural products and other profitable commercial agreements have already been achieved. Their realization is connected, of course, both with the results of the negotiations in Moscow and our recognition in the world.

In concluding the press conference, at which answers were given to other questions from the journalists also, Vitautas Landsbergis read out the optimistically couched telegram of a group of newly elected deputies from the Russian Federation. Its signatories recognize the Lithuanian leadership, support the Lithuanian people in their struggle to consolidate independence and simultaneously condemn the decree of the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies on Lithuania as unlawful interference in our affairs and call on the USSR for honest negotiations with Lithuania.

Yes, it is pleasing that more and more public figures and politicians who support the legitimate aspirations of the Lithuanian people are emerging in the Council Union also.

Landsbergis 22 March Letter to Lukyanov

*90UN1409C Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
23 March 90 p 1*

[V. Landsbergis letter to A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Council]

[Text] To the Kremlin, Moscow.

The Republic of Lithuania Government and Supreme Council express a protest in connection with the adoption at the Third Special Congress of USSR People's Deputies on 15 March 1990 of the decree on the international and internal status of the Republic of Lithuania.

The Republic of Lithuania takes particular exception to such a definition as "USSR Republic." The Republic of Lithuania was a generally recognized member of the League of Nations before Lithuania was occupied by the armed forces of the Soviet Union in June 1940, as a result of the Nazi-Soviet secret protocols to the 23 August 1939 Nonaggression Treaty.

In occupying Lithuania the USSR violated Lenin's declaration of 15 November 1917 on the rights of the peoples of Russia; the Lithuania-Soviet Russia peace treaty of 12 July 1920; the Lithuania-Soviet Union nonaggression treaty of 28 September 1926; the 1929 Kellogg-Briand Pact; the Lithuania-USSR mutual assistance treaty of 10 October 1939; and the League of Nations Treaty.

Together with the supreme soviets of Latvia and Estonia, the Republic of Poland Sejm and the assemblies of the Council of Europe and the Europarlament, the former Lithuanian Supreme Soviet reexamined and condemned the annexation of Lithuania and its neighbors—Estonia and Latvia—as a flagrant violation of international law. A similar step was taken by the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies on 24 December 1989.

With regard for the occupation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union in June 1940 all subsequent actions of Soviet representatives in Lithuania, whose purpose was the infringement and annihilation of the sovereignty of the people, were invalid *ab initio* [phrase published in Latin], including the efforts of the Iosif Stalin government to portray the incorporation of Lithuania within the USSR of 3 August 1940 as empowered by law. The Republic of Lithuania Government deems it necessary to call the attention of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government to the fact that international crimes, when a territory is annexed by force, do not accord a legal right to this territory and to the fact that the independence of the Republic of Lithuania was restored on 11 March 1990 on the basis of its succession *de jure* [phrase published in Latin] to 1940. In addition, the

government of the Republic of Lithuania intends to notify the USSR Supreme Soviet that the Russian Government signed in 1920 a peace treaty with Lithuania which unconditionally recognized "for all time" the sovereignty of the borders and independence of the Lithuanian state. It follows from these facts that the Republic of Lithuania has never, from a legal standpoint, been a part of USSR territory and that the 1977 USSR Constitution and other Soviet laws have no legal force on the territory of Lithuania.

In addition, the Republic of Lithuania Government notifies the USSR Supreme Soviet that, although the USSR Constitution does not apply on the territory of Lithuania, Article 72 of this constitution actually accords each Soviet republic the unrestricted right to secede from the USSR. Apropos of the this article of the constitution, the widely renowned specialist on the Soviet Constitution, Anatoliy Lukyanov, writes:

"This right of a union republic is without question. The consent of the highest organs of state power of neither the USSR nor the other union republics is required for its realization" ("USSR Constitution. Political and Legal Commentaries," Moscow, 1982).

It follows from this that the Lithuanian Supreme Council decree on the restoration of Lithuania's independence would be valid even from the viewpoint of Soviet constitutional law, were anyone to wish to impose this constitution on it. The USSR Supreme Soviet's references to articles 74 and 75 of the Soviet Constitution in the above-mentioned decree of 15 March 1990 are ineligible for disputation on the issue of the legislative status of Lithuania because these articles do not change and do not limit the republics' right to independent self-determination or secession from the Union guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution.

In addition, the Republic of Lithuania Government intends to notify the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet that the Lithuanian Government is legally accorded legitimate authority in Lithuania and that all efforts of the USSR Government or its Armed Forces to prevent implementation of the laws of Lithuania on the territory of Lithuania will be interpreted as a violation of generally recognized international law, including Article 2(4) of the UN Charter, the International Treaty on Human Rights, the general treaty on the renunciation of wars of 1928, the 1974 UN Declaration on the Definition of Aggression and the UN General Assembly Declaration on the Principles of International Law determining friendly relations and cooperation between states.

The Republic of Lithuania asks that the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet persuade the Soviet Government of the need to respect Lithuania's right to monitor and regulate the work of the customs service and the formalities at the time of passport registration on the border with the Kingdom of Sweden, the Russian Federation, Poland, Latvia, and the Belorussian SSR [Soviet

Socialist Republic]. The Lithuanian Government reminds the USSR Supreme Soviet that, in accordance with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference and the generally recognized principles of international law, including Article 13 of the Declaration of Human Rights, all citizens of Lithuania have the right at any time to leave Lithuania and return. All efforts of officials of the USSR in Lithuania or on its border aimed at preventing citizens of Lithuania from availing themselves of their legal right to travel to countries other than the Russian Federation or the Belorussian SSR will be interpreted as a serious violation of the rules of international law and human rights.

The above-mentioned decree of the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies maintains, in addition, that Lithuania has "ignored" certain unspecified political, economic, social, territorial, legal, and other problems associated with the restoration of Lithuania's independence. The Republic of Lithuania Government intends to remind the Supreme Soviet deputies that Lithuania has emphasized repeatedly its friendly intention of embarking immediately on negotiations with the USSR Government so that both parties may openly and rationally approach a discussion of all the questions which arise between them. The Lithuanian Government has not determined prior conditions for such negotiations, and, given the opportunity, representatives of Lithuania in Moscow have several times entered into contacts with USSR President M. Gorbachev.

The Lithuanian Government intends to convey to the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government the sincere aspiration of all citizens of Lithuania to maintain in the future cooperation on a mutually profitable political, economic, and cultural basis with the peoples of the USSR. The open aspiration to discussion on the problems troubling both parties would contribute to positive changes in Lithuania, the USSR, and Central-East Europe.

[signed] V. LANDSBERGIS, chairman of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council.

22 March 1990.

Moldavian CP Plenum 'Ineffective'

90US0624A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 90
Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Correspondent Eduard Kondratov, in Kishinev: "No Discussion"]

[Text] There was no shortage of emotional speeches at the Moldavian CP Central Committee plenum but no constructive discussion.

The nature of the report of P. Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, came as a complete surprise to the participants in the plenum. The communists of the sunny republic were not that used to hearing such harsh truth about themselves at their party

plenums. It was the first time in the history of the republic's Communist Party, perhaps, that it was said out loud—and the plenum, incidentally, was relayed by radio and recorded by television—how great was the responsibility of the republic Central Committee and the apparatus for the distortions of the ideas of socialism which had led Moldavia to most serious crisis phenomena—in the economy, in demographic and environmental processes, in personnel policy, and in interethnic relations. But ascribing all the troubles merely to the consequences of the Stalin times and stagnation would only be half the truth. What is most distressing is that even the five years of perestroika have not noticeably improved the life of people in Moldavia and have not been pivotal in the activity of its Communist Party either.

What must the communists do now to preserve, rather, restore their influence on people's minds and to prove their political capability? The report outlined the main directions of the discussion: elaboration of a program of renewal of the Moldavian Communist Party which would take account of Moldavia's national specifics, the possibility of cooperation with the new public forces, ways to democratize party work, and the Moldavian Communist Party's acquisition of independence within the CPSU framework.

It might have been expected that it would have been these questions, key questions for the party, which would have been the subject of heated argument at the plenum. There was no shortage of emotional utterances but no constructive discussion. The majority of speakers either reduced the talk to a discussion of economic and social problems or launched into a criticism of the negative phenomena of the recent past. Topics of vital importance for the future of the party were raised in two or three speeches, perhaps. But, alas, the keen thinking was not developed. It is no secret, however, that our party officials are not strong in political argument.

The plenum resolved to convene the 17th Moldavian Communist Party Congress on 17 May. The delegates thereto will be elected by direct and secret ballot on the basis of choice.

Ukrainian Justice Minister on Changes to Election Laws

90UN1338A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA
in Ukrainian 13 Feb 90 p 2

[Interview with Ukrainian SSR Minister of Justice V.H. Zaychuk by RADYANSKA UKRAYINA correspondent: "The Law Dictates"]

[Text] On 19 January of this year the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted an edict entitled "On Adoption of Addenda to and Revisions in Certain Legislative Enactments of the Ukrainian SSR, Proceeding From the Laws on Election of People's Deputies." We present the following dialogue between a RADYANSKA UKRAYINA correspondent and Ukrainian SSR

Minister of Justice V.H. Zaychuk on new additions to criminal laws and laws dealing with administrative infractions and civil law proceedings.

[Correspondent] Volodymyr Hnatovych, what motivated promulgation of this new legal enactment? The law already prescribed means of combating violations of citizens' election rights. For example, I have here Article 127 of our republic's Criminal Code....

[Zaychuk] As we know, a reform of the political system is continuing to be carried out in this country. The adoption last October by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet of substantial revisions in and additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Ukrainian SSR, adoption by the Supreme Soviet of new laws on election of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies and deputies to local soviets, and the formation of a body of deputies on the basis of these elections constitutes the second phase of this reform.

In connection with this there arose the need for more detailed regulation both of the matter of liability for election rights violations and procedures for implementing specific provisions of the new election laws.

Formerly the law prescribed only criminal penalties for certain types of violations in this area: hindering exercise of the election right, falsification of election documents, false vote count, and violation of the principle of the secret ballot.

[Correspondent] Could you tell us the essential substance of the changes introduced by this new edict?

[Zaychuk] I shall first discuss the provisions which prescribe administrative liability. Such provisions are being adopted for the first time. Public appeals or agitation to boycott elections, publication of dissemination by other means of knowingly false information about a candidate for deputy, and electioneering for or against a candidate on election day shall henceforth be considered administrative infractions. Persons guilty of these violations shall receive a warning, or a fine in an amount up to 50 rubles, or shall be sentenced to up to 2 months of corrective labor, with loss of 20 percent of wages.

One should bear in mind that knowingly spreading lies which are defamatory to another person, that is, slander, shall result in criminal prosecution under Article 125 of the Criminal Code.

If a member of an election board issues somebody a ballot to vote in the place of another individual, he shall be subject to an administrative penalty in the form of a warning or a fine of up to 50 rubles.

The law also prescribes another type of administrative offense: interference with the work of electoral commissions which hinders them from performing their duties connected with registration of candidates for deputy,

with performing the voting precinct vote count, with determining electoral district vote results, and with computing overall vote totals. This offense carries the same penalty as for issuing a ballot to a person in order to vote in place of another individual.

All these provisions are to be found in Article 186-2, which has been added to the Ukrainian SSR Code of Administrative Infractions. Cases involving infractions of this type will be handled by the people's courts on the basis of formal complaints filed by internal affairs agency officials or by members of a citizen volunteer policy auxiliary.

[Correspondent] To what articles of the Criminal Code do the revisions and additions apply?

[Zaychuk] Article 127, which you mentioned at the beginning of this interview, has been revised. It specifies criminal penalties for impeding free exercise of the right of a citizen to elect and be elected people's deputy. The law stipulates that there shall be criminal penalties for such obstruction not only by means of violence, deception, or threats, but by other means as well. That is, the law guarantees protection against any means of influence exerted on a citizen for the purpose of impeding him from exercising his right. Impeding or obstructing the conduct of election campaigning is now separately classified as a criminal act. This is an additional legal guarantee that workforces, public organizations, school faculties and staffs, and constituents who have nominated candidates for deputy shall be able to exercise their right of unhindered election campaigning for their candidates.

The new wording of this article provides the possibility of applying penalty in a more differentiated manner. In addition to imprisonment for a term of up to two years or a similar term of corrective labor, the guilty party can be fined an amount up to 500 rubles, and up to 1,000 rubles if action for personal benefit was involved.

Article 128 has also been revised, specifying liability for falsification of election documents or falsifying the vote count. At first glance this revision appears insignificant—the word "pidrobka" [falsification, forgery, counterfeiting] has been replaced with the word "pidlokh" [forgery]. But this has considerable significance. Forgery of election documents is a considerably broader concept than falsification of a specific document. Forgery may also involve altering the contents of a document original by knowingly adding false information, pidrobka [imitation, counterfeit, forgery], erasure or alteration of a number, as well as preparation of a new document with falsified contents.

Election documents include lists of voters, ballots, records of proceedings, record of vote, and other documents specified in the laws on election of people's deputies. This crime is punishable by imprisonment for a term of up to two years or a similar term of corrective labor.

[Correspondent] According to Article 40 of the Law on Election of Ukrainian SSR People's Deputies, the election platform of a candidate for deputy shall not contain appeals for overthrow of or violent changes in the Soviet governmental and societal system as formally articulated by the USSR Constitution and the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as inflaming of ethnic or racial enmity or hostility. In case of violation of this provision, the Central Electoral Commission, at the request of a district electoral commission, at the recommendation of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court, may consider rescinding the registration of a candidate for deputy. Article 39 of the Law on Election of deputies to local soviets contains a similar provision. Could you tell us, Volodymyr Hnatovych, if there is a procedure for the courts to review such requests by electoral commissions and to enter findings on these matters?

[Zaychuk] These provisions of the laws on election of people's deputies are entirely new. In order for them to go into effect, the above Edict has added Chapter 30-A to the Ukrainian SSR Code of Civil Procedure.

Pursuant to the ratified procedure, petitions on these matters shall be submitted as follows: regarding candidates for Ukrainian SSR People's Deputy—to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet; candidates for deputy to oblast soviets and the Kiev city soviet of people's deputies—correspondingly to the oblast court and Kiev Municipal Court; candidates for deputy to a rayon, city, city rayon, worker community, and rural soviet of people's deputies—to the rayon (municipal) people's court in the locality in which is located the electoral commission which registered the candidate for deputy. The following are authorized to submit such a petition to the appropriate court: the Central Electoral Commission for Election of Ukrainian SSR People's Deputies, in regard to candidates for Ukrainian SSR People's Deputies; oblast, rayon, city, city rayon, worker settlement, and rural electoral commission in regard to candidates for deputy to the corresponding soviet.

The court shall consider such a petition in an open court session not later than three days after such petition is filed.

The court shall submit a decision as a result of examination of said petition. If it is determined that a candidate for deputy has violated the law, the court shall find that grounds exist for rescinding said candidate's registration. If it is determined that there has been no violation of law, the court shall declare that there are no grounds for rescinding the candidate's registration. The court's decision shall be final and is not subject to appeal. The court shall immediately provide a copy of the decision to the petitioner.

Ukrainian Party Club Conference Held

90P50006A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian,
27 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by V. Puzikov, PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent; Kharkov: "At the Party Club Conference"]

[Text] The first republic conference of party clubs and representatives of party organizations in Ukraine which stand for the positions of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU and the radical renewal of the party was held in Kharkov on 24 and 25 March. Thirty-five party clubs from 20 oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR were represented here. The main goal of the conference was the consolidation in forces during the period of preparations for the upcoming 28th CPSU Congress. It also set forth a working program.

Conference participants concentrated their attention on discussion of alternative documents for the party congress: drafts of the Democratic Platform and the Platform of the CPSU Central Committee. A pointed discussion arose over the question of the status of the Ukrainian Communist Party within the CPSU and the the procedure for electing delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress and the 28th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Speakers said that the republic party clubs present as their goal the consolidation of democratic progressive forces both within the party and outside of it.

Conference participants supported the declaration "On the Present Moment" and adopted a package of resolutions on the questions discussed. One of the resolutions "On the Draft of the Statutes of the Ukrainian Communist Party," in particular, says:

"We share the basic positions of the draft of the party statutes developed by the Moscow party club 'Communist-Reformers for the CPSU Democratic Platform' and believe that it can be adopted as the basis for the Statutes of the Ukrainian Communist Party."

A coordinating council was elected; it will undertake the task of uniting and forming the movement of party clubs in the republic.

Among the conference participants were eight people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR who were recently elected to the republic parliament.

Salary Scales for Ukrainian CP Workers Published

90UN1138A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
14 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with Konstantin Konstantinovich Prodan, business manager of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, by an unnamed RATAU correspondent; time, date, and place of interview not given: "What Are the Salaries of Ukrainian Party Organ Workers?"]

[Text] *"Today we know how much M.S. Gorbachev receives per month. But how much does the first secretary of an oblast party committee or a rayon party committee receive...and all of the others who are at the lower levels of our administrative hierarchy?"*

"I am sure that the many publications which receive RATAU news will gladly publish this material." (From a letter to RATAU from V. Pokotilo, editor of the Globinskiy Rayon newspaper ZORYA KOMUNIZMU of Poltava Oblast.)

Because of this letter, a RATAU correspondent asked K.K. Prodan, business manager of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, to answer a number of questions.

[Correspondent] Konstantin Konstantinovich, please comment on what brought about the salary increase for party apparatus workers.

[Prodan] As you know, in accordance with directives from the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on radical perestroika of the nature and methods of party committees' work, it was considered advisable to strengthen the committees with authoritative, well-trained workers having the necessary life and political experience and capable of successfully and creatively bringing the perestroika cause to fruition. However, the recruiting of such personnel was seriously hindered by party worker pay levels' being lower than the salary levels for enterprise and organization managers and specialists. Disproportions in the pay of party workers and personnel in the production sphere had grown even greater because of the establishment of new tariff schedules and position salaries in the national economy's production sectors in accordance with CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [VTsSPS] Order No 1115 of 17 September 1986.

After thorough study of this matter in the CPSU Central Committee, a decision was made to establish position salaries at the levels of the corresponding worker categories in the national economy sector for party committee workers as of 1 October 1989.

[Correspondent] And what, for example, are the salary scales now for the various categories of officials in the oblast, city, and rayon party committees?

[Prodan] The salaries of oblast, city, and rayon party committee workers are set with respect to the party committee's category level, and, per month, are:

Oblast party committee [obkom] first secretaries—750 to 850 rubles.

Obkom department heads—500 to 600 rubles.

Obkom instructors—330 to 400 rubles.

City party committee [gorkom] and rayon party committee [raykom] first secretaries—500 to 600 rubles.

Gorkom and raykom instructors—280 to 350 rubles.

[Correspondent] In order to dot the "i," as they say, let us also give the position salaries for the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus' workers.

[Prodan] The salary scales for the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee today are described by the following data:

Central Committee Secretaries—870 rubles.

Central Committee Department Heads—650 to 700 rubles.

Central Committee Instructors—400 to 500 rubles.

[Correspondent] What, for example, is the approximate relation of party workers' salaries now to managers' salaries in the various management elements in industry?

[Prodan] Establishment of the new position salaries for party workers has made it possible to bring their salaries closer to the salaries of the national economy's managers and specialists. In confirmation of this, I can cite the following average data for 1989 on the monthly managers' salaries of 10 city of Kiev enterprises—the production associations imeni Korolev, "Kommunist," imeni Artem, "Radiozavod," and "Arsenal," the scientific production associations "Relay i avtomatiki" [Relays and Automatics] and "Bolshevik," the shoe production association "Kiev," the construction association "Glavkievgorstroy," and Construction and Installation Trust No 1:

Enterprise and organization managers—1,125 rubles.

Enterprise and organization deputy managers—836 rubles.

Heads of departments, shops, and sectors—646 rubles.

Foremen and straw bosses—421 rubles.

[Correspondent] And what are the salaries on kolkhozes and sovkhozes?

[Prodan] Analysis of the salaries on profitable kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, and Kharkov Oblasts shows, for example, that they are, on the average, from 440 to 725 rubles for the managers and chief specialists, from 310 to 360 rubles for division and animal-husbandry section supervisors, and from 240 to 340 rubles for equipment operators, milkers, and livestock keepers. At the same time, the average salary for the managers of highly profitable farms reaches 900 to 1,100 rubles per month and more.

[Correspondent] Konstantin Konstantinovich, some USSR People's Deputies, creative workers, and cultural and scientific workers are now criticizing the party organs for excessively high salary scales. Do you not have some information about the salaries of these?

[Prodan] Of course we have such information, but I consider it unethical to name the comrades. However, I wish to stress with complete authority that the average monthly earnings of many workers in that category substantially exceed the salary levels in the party organs.

[Correspondent] Finally, here is the last question. At the expense of what funds was the salary increase for party workers effected?

[Prodan] The salary increase was effected at the expense of funds in the party budget. The funds that were freed as a result of the apparatus reduction brought about by

reorganizing the party committees were channeled into coverage of the expenditures associated with the salary increase. The apparatus of Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee officials, for example, was reduced by more than 30 percent, and that of the obkoms by 27 percent. The Ukrainian Communist Party's party budget is based on the principles of full cost accounting [khozyaystvennyy raschet].

My point of view on the salary increase for party committee workers is this: The issue should have been resolved simultaneously with establishment of the new tariff schedules and position salaries for the national economy's production sector workers. As a last resort, the party committee workers' new position salaries should have been established at the end of 1988—simultaneously with the party organs' reorganization.

People's Deputy on Ethnic Dissension, Need for 'Rehabilitation' of Internationalism

90UN1065A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 28 Feb 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by V. Romanov, USSR people's deputy, rector of the Magnitogorsk Pedagogical Institute: "Internationalism—Myth or Reality? At a Dangerous Line"]

[Text] For the current stage of international relations, two sufficiently stable trends are characteristic: A stormy rise of the national self-consciousness of the peoples and powerful splashes of separatism, aggressive extremism in "nationalist wrapping", reaching interethnic slaughter, which our country has not known for many decades. The legitimate question arises: Whence did the "dirty scum" suddenly appear, which comparatively easily washed off the "polishing layer" from the interethnic prosperity, some sort of nourishing environment, in which suddenly doubled-dyed nationalism unexpectedly flourished like a magnificent bouquet? I think, it is impossible to simplify this problem, referring only to the deformation of the nationality policy of the Stalin and stagnation years. And with a certain easiness, to give a universal prescription for the treatment of the disease—the renewal of the content of the Soviet federation. It is impossible, in my view, to send to the scrap-heap of history also the principle of internationalism. To talk about this, it seems, is especially appropriate today, when we are discussing the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee.

I would like to focus attention on the following aspects. First of all, on the wave of democratization there occurred a sharp aggravation of the objective contradiction which, for decades, we tried not to notice—between the natural aspiration of every people to preserve its national distinctiveness and to assert itself, and the no less natural societal need for socio-economic integration of the republics and peoples, the internationalization of their spiritual life.

In the present-day situation, the above-named contradiction proved to be "turned upside-down," with the hypertrophied first trend, when, under the flag of the struggle for national self-expression, purely separatist forces sometimes consolidate themselves, when the nationally distinctive is frequently removed into the platitude of the nationalistic.

Secondly, national feelings are an utmost sensitive barometer which reacts dynamically to any negative shortcomings in the life of the people. The present sharp aggravation in the socio-economic situation in the country is perceived by many peoples, above all by the small ones, as an encroachment on their national interests, as an infringement of their rights.

Thirdly, the atmosphere of interethnic relations is seriously complicated by the historical unfairness which was permitted and at times is preserved up to now with respect to some peoples. I have in mind the Stalinist

discrimination policy and present-day facts of socio-economic and cultural inequality of some non-indigenous nationalities in the union republics.

Fourthly, in the present-day situation, anti-socialist forces, shady business, and powerful ringleaders of criminal and patrimonial clans are becoming the chief destabilizing factor, the coordinator, and the peculiar "yeasts" of interethnic conflicts. But home-bred nationalism is a convenient garment, a form of camouflage of these forces, which aspiring to fill a certain vacuum of power in the republics for the realization of their long-term plans, which have nothing in common with the national interests of a given people, nor with socialist values.

The aggravation of international relations has literally relegated to the background the Leninist assessments of the essence of the national question and the positive historical experience which our country had accumulated in its solution. That sort of "forgetfulness" or nihilism is one of the serious reasons for those blind-alley situations which today at every step arise in international relations.

V. I. Lenin, in particular, underscored that in nationality relations both great power chauvinism in the form of the dictate of the big peoples with respect to the small ones, their assimilation by force, and local nationalism as the aspiration to separate peoples by national quarters, to break up the historically developed relations between them, and to destroy the natural internationalism of the people of labor.

V. I. Lenin constantly called attention to the circumstance that it is impermissible to mix the question of the right of nations to self-determination with questions of the expediency of the separation of this or that nation. This last question, the social-democratic party must solve in every individual case completely independently from the standpoint of the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism. It seems that neither the political fashion, nor considerations of momentary advantage will ever cancel the fundamental Leninist conclusion about the fact that it is necessary to examine all local-nationalist problems and peculiarities (with all their significance and delicate nature) through the prism of the priority of the general international tasks and interests. Only with such an approach is it possible to break the vicious circle which at times arises in interethnic relations, to tear away the mask of political hypocrisy from the "people's defenders", who provoke interethnic estrangement and distrust among peoples.

The principle of internationalism is the key principle of the revolutionary theory of K. Marx and V. I. Lenin, as well as of the practice of inter-ethnic relations. With all the costs and deformations of the past nationality policy, this principle lived, worked, and cemented our multinational state for the duration of the entire history of Soviet power. This was expressed in the fact that in the

USSR the privileges and restrictions for large and small peoples were eliminated, and real material and cultural equality was guaranteed.

The young Soviet multinational state did not collapse under the severe blows of civil war, ruin, poverty, and supertension. Internationalism, as the mutual responsibility of the peoples for the fate of the revolutionary achievements, as the class solidarity of the people of labor, passed the test for strength in the years of the Great Patriotic War.

The fact that the Russian people for decades has gone for direct national sacrifices for the sake of pulling up the outlying districts of the nationalities has become a tangible expression of the internationalist essence of the Russian people, which they now frequently identify with the great power dictate of the center, with the mode of the occupant. Even today, more than 40 billion rubles of the profit of Russian enterprises are redistributed to the budget of the individual union republics (through the imbalance of prices). In the Russian oblasts, all national minorities feel calm and stable. Russia disentangles conflicts in Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Moldavia, accepting refugees, paying for their strikes, pogroms, and blockades. Simple people today raise the "naive question": Who is feeding the Azerbaijani and Armenian members of revolutionary fighting groups and those who are constantly striking in these regions? It is bitter and offensive to observe the mass nationalist splashes with anti-Russian orientation in the national republics. Things are going to the point where they have started to excommunicate the Russian-speaking population in the Baltic republics, depriving them of the right to vote on the basis of qualification of settlement. This is a blasphemous distortion of the essence of Leninist nationality policy and civilized relations among peoples in general. Surprising is the fact that at the 2nd USSR Congress of People's Deputies there were deputies from the Baltic who attempted to justify this "medieval" right.

Today the "dirty scum" of nationalism increasingly overwhelming interethnic relations, since separatism and nationalist extremism do not receive a proper rebuff either at the theoretical or at the political fronts, or in legislative-legal respect. Nationalism is many-sided. It manifests itself in separatism, juggling the parliamentary phrase about the right of the people to self-determination, in the absolutization of the nationally distinctive, in aggressive extremism that organizes fratricidal wars, and in open anti-Sovietism, as well as in the open break with socialist values.

Today the fate of our country as a single multinational state altogether is at stake. Moreover, "civilized methods" of the liquidation of the USSR under the flag of the renewal of the federation are being proposed. In particular, at two USSR People's Congresses, the representatives of the Baltic forcefully propagated the idea of the priority of republic laws and the secondariness of union laws. But if we do not deliberately confuse the issue, according to the logic of some of the Baltic comrades,

everything is moving in the direction that the Soviet Union needs to be disbanded and that something of the type of the European Economic Community, with the humiliating sign "Renewed Federation", needs to be created. Incidentally, within the framework of the economic and political integrity of the USSR, any renewal of federative organization is possible. But the irresponsible actions of those official and informal leaders, who push their peoples on the path of imaginary independence, may cost our society very dearly. Always bold and separatist [samostiyny] only as long as they live under the roof of the powerful foreign policy guarantee, have an unlimited market and reliable sources of raw material, feel themselves as equals, and do not rack their brains over the problem of compensation for the lost historically-developed relations. In the conditions of a "Soviet economic association", the dialogue of the representatives of large and small peoples will be conducted in a completely different language. It goes without saying, the union republic is sovereign in its right to self-determination right up to separation. But the reality is such that the productive forces of any republic is the result and fruit of the efforts of the entire Soviet people. Any republic is a multinational formation. And this is something of which those leaders need to be reminded who, showing their hand, talk about leaving the structure of the Soviet Union.

The present interethnic conflicts, the aspiration to isolation, and nationalist passions are not the spontaneous outburst of the crowd and not the will of the peoples, but the result of carefully developed scenarios in which everything is taken into account: Material provision, propagandistic pressing, and the tactic of pressure on the center. In particular, according to data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, for participation in pogroms and the organization of disturbances, "cases of the distribution of large sums of money have been noted." Indisputable is also the fact that in the bourgeois world by far not all are supporters of Soviet restructuring. There are forces which realize that there is no better method with which to paralyze the USSR from within than national discord. They are ready to support materially, organizationally, and "through methodological advice" the nationalist "Vendee" in the USSR.

The nationalist extremist forces are acting openly, with impunity from the standpoint of the adequacy of the measure of punishment to the character of the crimes, not mention the billions of rubles in economic losses from large-scale blockades, sabotage, pogroms, strikes, refugee problems, etc. The country has proved to be at the dangerous line where pogroms and the unauthorized dismantling of the state border of the USSR are beginning. Things went to the point of massive armed formations, which are being directed by the representatives of the popular fronts. What is surprising is the appeasing tone of some of the mass media, in particular KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, where there is talk about crimes on so-called nationalist grounds. Crime does not know national membership. Any attempt to somehow

justify crimes of that sort through the unsettledness of social and nationality problems only stimulates their growth.

The worldwide practice of the defense of democracy shows that we will never rid ourselves of nationalism through understandings, appeals to prudence, and only political methods, for, as has already been emphasized, it has far-reaching strategic goals which go beyond the framework of our socialist values. For this reason it is necessary today to utilize the full strength of the law in regard to the figures and organizations which advocate dissension and enmity among peoples. I would like to ask the competent organs—who is punished and what is the preventive punishment related to nationalist propaganda?

Today there is an acute need also for special legislative acts on the procedure for the introduction of an "emergency" or "special state", a "curfew", which define the prerogatives and the legal protection of the militia and servicemen, who are carrying out government assignments in regard to the stopping of mass disturbances. The defenseless of soldiers gives rise to the open insolence of criminals and extremists of all colors. It seems to me that an atmosphere of moral-political intolerance of any manifestations of nationalism must be created. The tactic of the cook from Krylov's fable, which is camouflaged under humanism, is costing us dearly. Without the stabilization of inter-ethnic relations, without the "rehabilitation" of the principle of internationalism, all of our reforms will prove to be a myth.

It needs to be said that any good cause, a positive social trend, including the present natural aspiration of peoples for national distinctiveness, cannot be carried to the point of absurdity where the question is the development of the same national language and culture. V. I. Lenin understood the flowering of national culture, above all, as giving this or that people access to the advanced achievements of world international culture, and not as self-isolation and retreat into the "national shell." It goes without saying, we need to preserve, augment, and develop the good traditions, spiritual values, and the language of every people. But there is no need to dramatize the events around the language problem. V. I. Lenin welcomed even the voluntary language assimilation of peoples, regarding it as a natural and progressive process. But only in the conditions of voluntariness. Any compulsion on the plane of the assimilation of the language of another people has always given rise to internal protest. I am deeply convinced of the fact that, if we seat "behind the desk" representatives of the non-indigenous nationalities in the republics, such a semi-power method will not add respect to the indigenous nationality and may call forth only irritation among the national minorities. In thinking and worrying about the feeling of national dignity of some peoples, it is necessary to constantly remember the rights and dignity of the others.

Autonomous Oblasts, Republics Viewed in Context of Ethnic Issues

90UN1065B Omsk SIBIRSKAYA,

DALNEVOSTOCHNAYA in Russian No 12, Dec 89 p 2

[Editorial entitled "Peace and Agreement in the House"]

[Text] **Peace and Agreement in the House** have since olden times come at a special price in Russia. Today there is no alternative to peace and agreement in our common large house—the USSR—the CPSU is telling my contemporaries through its platform on nationality policy. Its formula—without a strong union, there are no strong republics, without strong republics, there is no strong union—is finding increasingly greater recognition.

Having overturned all of our conceptions, perestroika and glasnost have burst into our life like a wind of striking changes. Revolutions are revolutions, they wreck everything in their path, they dispel illusions, they bring authorities down from their pedestal, and they raze stereotypes to the ground. Today we are solving all over again the national question, which was supposedly solved a long time ago. After the miners' strikes we are agonizing over the question: What sort of master do we have that he himself is striking? For how many years did they harp—one thesis on the merging of nations counts for a lot!—for the new community of people, for indestructible friendship—well, really, we have come to social and nationality strikes. Somehow it is awkward now to even remember about that work of ours which it was accepted to call international education. What is this, if not the downfall of stereotypes...

I do not know about anyone else, but I was not able to get a moment's peace, but what shape would we, would the country, be in, had it not been for April of 1985, had the clock of perestroika had not been started? Thus we even would pump from the depths without measure what belongs not only to us, but also to our children and grandchildren. This, how much it should have torn us from the sinful earth, in order for us to come to believe that there are no people in the world who are richer and more harmonious than we. But in actual fact it turned out: We do not have any kind of developed socialism, the consumer market is worse than anywhere, and the financial system is out of balance, and we are subject to national dissension, and no one knows as yet what by comparison with what are coupons for sugar and sunflower seeds.

I would not at all want thereby to cast any aspersions on the significance of the the solution of the food problem for the country. Simply, among the mass of problems which we will have to solve, I would like to single out one—the firmness of the USSR.

I will not say that the interethnic contradictions do not have a foundation. The distinctiveness of our state up to now consists in the fact that the boundaries between that which falls within the jurisdiction of the republics and

the center have become eroded, and this made it possible at the local level for the arbitrariness of the ministries and departments to become firmly established. The republics were unable to oppose it, and hence already offer their hand to offence, to national dissension, and to the manifestation of centrifugal tendencies. Things have gone to the point where in the Baltic and in a number of other republics, some people have begun to treat the self-determination of peoples quite distinctively as separation, as withdrawal from the structure of the USSR.

Let us remember, during the time of trials, our people, having forgotten about discord, united into one family. But what, is today really the time when one can again remember them and run to one's national apartments?

I will not talk about the external environment. And God forbid, the blow of the elements again falls on one of our republics—how is it to rise from the ruins alone? And which one of the fifteen does not already today feel the pernicious blows of ecology? And if this series continues, it must be said, increasingly perceptible is the burden of social tension as a whole in our society, but especially does it weigh on the small peoples. One does not have to go far for an example. To this day, I hear truly a cry from the heart of the Nanaian woman from the Far East, from the platform of the Congress of People's Deputies, who was called upon to defend her kray from departmental dictatorship, to help protect the unique culture for her people. Forever, it seems, we, too, have gotten rid of euphoria and exotic character, when they told about Tofalariya or about Gornyy Altay. The peoples of those places have immeasurably more problems than the cheerful colors of nature.

The distortions and exaggerations even in the as it is rigid administration of the country remained as indelible scars on the destinies of precisely the small peoples. And, as a rule, we devoted ourselves to their correction also "as we would have it," without taking into account the special features of the whole way of life of the northern peoples. Without regard to the fact that they are not keeping pace with scientific-technical progress, that they are losing their distinctive culture. Preparing the material for our journal, Valeriy Sharov, our journal's own correspondent, traveled all over the vast kray—from the Kola Peninsula to Chukotka and the Maritime Kray, talked with the indigenous inhabitants, party and soviet officials in these places and in Moscow, with ethnographers, historians, and sociologists. The conclusion at which he arrives is not comforting: Things are bad and bleak in our enormous country for small peoples, regardless of whether they have or do not have their national areas or other national formations?

This is one section of the problem. The second are the autonomous oblasts and republics. Five oblasts of the RSFSR have dual subordination: First to the kray, then to the republic. Outbursts of enthusiasm apropos of this were not heard. On the contrary, one had to encounter, in the same Gornyy Altay, with the totally unjustified

neglect of the social sphere. In terms of the standard of living, the people of our autonomous oblasts, as a rule, occupy the lower lines.

As also cannot be put off the question of the expansion of the rights, and the more precise definition of the status of the autonomous republics of our region. Their potential has increased a great deal, for its more efficient use as well, today it is already universally recognized: They need wider authority.

Finally, the third cut of the problem. The RSFSR as a whole needs to strengthen its sovereignty, it has an extreme need for all the structures of administration which the other union republics have.

The national question is not simple, in its solution whosoever's sentiments of "easy victory" are not appropriate. The Supreme Soviet of the country today is putting together the foundations of republic and regional khozraschet and in general completely new principles for our life. In these conditions, it is necessary to repudiate the monologue of the previous administrative command system—the time has come for collective reflections on the question of what the new Soviet federation must be like, and collective efforts so as to make sure that not a single—even very small people—should feel infringed in it and passed over in rights. In order for the newspaper not to abound in flashy headlines of the type "What Language to Bring to Kishinev?", "What Kind of Constitution Does Estonia Need?" In order for every citizen of the country, regardless of the republic or oblast in which he lives, to feel comfortable in our common house.

Latvian People's Front Official on Need for 'Centrist' Party

90UN1067A Riga ATMODA in Russian 5 Feb 90 p 1

[Interview with Sandra Kalnietā, chairman of the Board of the NFL Duma, conducted by A. Kazakov: "The Question of Establishing a Party of the Democratic Center Remains Urgent"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] ATMODA continues its series of interviews with leading politicians of the NFL [Latvian People's Front] on the eve of elections. After I. Godmanis and Ya. Shkapars, we turned to Sandra Kalnietā, chairman of the Board of the NFL Duma, and asked her to answer several questions.

[Kazakov] On the eve of elections, the movement's basic ideas need to be spelled out once again. The main idea is the idea of Latvia's independence. What do you see as to ways to achieve it? What is it necessary to be careful to avoid along that way? What should be aimed for first of all?

[Kalnietā] With respect to the ultimate goal we are all united in Latvia, but we understand the ways to achieve it differently. The program of the NFL declares this goal, but it says little about the mechanisms to be used to

achieve it. That is the question that will be addressed by the future Baltic Assembly, where Lithuanian, Estonian and Latvian models for attaining independence will be worked out. They will probably be different, since the situations in our republics are very dissimilar.

What must we be careful to avoid? First of all, remaining up in the clouds, because reality often differs from the attitudes that dominate in certain divisions of the NFL. I see the greatest danger for the NFL to be that its precepts would become divorced from real public opinion among both the Latvian and non-Latvian population. I speak about the Latvian people, too, because in such issues the people often thinks soberly, soundly, cautiously and patiently. Therefore, categorical slogans like "Soviets without Communists!" have little to do with reality and do not reflect the people's opinion. If our common goal is Latvia's independence, we must seek possible points of agreement among the various political forces—including with the Communists who in deeds, and not just in words, are organizationally forming themselves into the independent Latvian Communist Party whose goal is to restore Latvia's state independence. In any democratic society the full political spectrum is needed.

[Kazakov] At the NFL congress you spoke about the insufficiency and incompleteness of the political spectrum in Latvia, about the lack of balance. Does your view remain unchanged?

[Kalniyeta] Yes, there is still no balance. And the reason that there is not is that we have no clearly expressed centralist party that recognizes itself as the party of the center. Everyone is hiding behind radicalism—rightist or leftist. I have already spoken at the congress about the need to establish such a party.

But I admit that what concerns me even more is that the Russian part of Latvia's population, like the non-Latvian population in general, is absolutely apolitical. There are practically no effective political processes taking place within it, and it is a dangerous syndrome when such an imbalance occurs—one side is politicized practically to the limit, and the other remains indifferent to that. I think that the arousal of political thinking among the non-Latvian population is one of the most important tasks today. From every indication, the Interfront has lost the support that it may have had at first among the Russian population. It sometimes seems to me that there is nothing left of it but its leadership. But no organization that answers to democratic aspirations has yet been created, and I am absolutely certain that the Russians, too, have such aspirations, as is indicated by the experience in Russia alone, where they are gaining increasing force. In this connection, too, I think that a change in the direction of creating a party should take place. But I personally would not want that party to be established along nationality lines. Just as a party of the democratic center should not be a single-nationality, Latvian party. I would like for the democratic, liberal center to merge

with the democratic forces of Latvia's Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian and other national groups.

[Kazakov] So you are speaking of a kind of non-national party, a purely political party?

[Kalniyeta] Yes, its consolidating force should be a general democratic platform. Right now it is hard to combat various attempts that our opponents are making to capitalize on arguments of the sort: "So there will be an independent Latvia, and you will become second-class people" (an absurdity!), or "There will be an independent Latvia, and you will be expelled." I suppose that a certain part of the non-Latvian population will want to leave an independent Latvia. But no one would dare to expel them. Many Latvian residents of other nationalities will remain here. What is remarkable about that? The graves of their families are here; their children and grandchildren are here. Where are they to go? They have already put down roots here.

The tranquility that is increasingly being established in relations among the nationalities in Latvia is no illusion. The tempest raised by the first congress of the People's Front has in many respects subsided now, since the second congress. The elections to local soviets showed that we could not achieve victory in them without the support of the Russian population. And now, too, we are hoping for the Russian population's support in elections to the Supreme Soviet.

[Kazakov] How do you see the Russian population's active participation in Latvia's present-day political life? Are new structures needed to channel that energy, or, to the contrary, should certain existing structures be revived?

[Kalniyeta] Both. Structures at several levels must be created and made effective. The first, least politicized today, and not very large and influential is that of the national cultural societies. Second and extremely important is the revival of Eastern Orthodoxy, or more precisely, the revival of former respect for Eastern Orthodoxy and for the high Eastern Orthodox clergy. Over the course of 70 years the Russian people has endured such terrible ruin that often not even the memory of those values that the Church brought the Russian people for a thousand years has been preserved. We are prepared to provide every assistance to societies that unite on the basis of spiritual principles.

But the third level, the creation of a party, still seems to me to be the most fundamental. How can a one-party system operate in Latvia? It can exert its influence only within the context of the parliament. And I think that the structure of the proportional representation of all peoples in the parliament is not justifying itself. The whole world has already come to or is moving toward having parliament operate exclusively within the framework of political parties, and it is through parties that Russian interests could be represented in an authoritative fashion.

I place great hopes on a social democratic party. But there absolutely must be other parties, as well. One of them could be a party of the democratic liberal center, which would bring people together on a general democratic platform, rather than along nationality lines. If, as I hope, that platform proves acceptable to many, the party will be strong and will balance the political center. Those who have a very strong radical national orientation would not join it. And all world experience shows that the center is more successful than others in political work.

[Kazakov] Should it be a party that campaigns first and foremost for a democratic, law-governed state?

[Kalniyeta] Yes, of course. And a democratic, law-governed state itself is the best guarantee that there will be no infringements on human and civil rights—on either political, national, or other rights.

[Kazakov] You speak about joint political activity between the Latvian and non-Latvian populations. Yet in July 1989 the NFL's appeal for consolidation was published. Why was it not successful?

[Kalniyeta] In the first place, a certain image of the enemy is associated with the People's Front. This is largely related to the fact that the republic's non-Latvian population does not yet believe in real guarantees of its rights and interests. Moreover, for many years in our country people have written one thing and thought another, and by dint of inertia our program has been taken in the same way: "Those are just words. They actually think quite differently." That is not the case.

I understand very well the aspiration of those 700,000 Latvians who have registered as citizens of Latvia. But for me personally that is unacceptable in human terms. In what way is V. Dozortsev worse than I as a citizen of Latvia? Can I be a drunkard and remain a full-fledged citizen merely because my father and mother were born and lived in independent Latvia? The idea of an individual's personal responsibility and personal worth is completely missing in such an approach. I think that such associations created on the basis of automatic features are unbecoming of the ninth decade of the 20th century. In such cases I always recall the words of Academician D. S. Likhachev: "The 21st century will either be the century of humanism, or it will not be at all."

[Kazakov] A remarkable conclusion of the conversation. Thank you.

Latvian Front Statement Against Anti-Semitism

90UN1067B Riga ATMODA in Russian 12 Feb 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Statement by the Duma of the Latvian People's Front"]

[Text] Lately there have been increasing reports of facts that unambiguously indicate an escalation of anti-Semitism in Moscow and Leningrad and other regions of the USSR. There have been mass acts of hooliganism conducted by so-called "patriotic organizations" of Great Russian chauvinists (Pamyat, etc.) An outright threat has been made to carry out anti-Jewish pogroms this 5 May throughout the entire territory of the USSR. Articles that are plainly anti-Semitic and racist have appeared in the press.

The Duma of the Latvian People's Front is indignant at what is taking place. Such phenomena concern not only Jews but all other peoples living within the USSR. They are a real threat to the further democratization and humanization of society.

The fact that the USSR government has indifferently observed the dangerous process of the escalation of fascist attitudes, and that the CPSU, which continues to consider itself the leading force in society, has not yet publicly condemned anti-Semitism and racism arouses perplexity and indignation. Nor are there any grounds for believing that the USSR law-enforcement agencies are taking action to genuinely protect the life and honor of citizens of Jewish nationality.

The Latvian People's Front Duma categorically condemns any manifestations of anti-Semitism and calls unequivocally and firmly for ensuring the safety of Jews in Latvia, and for their receiving the protection of the law and the public's moral support.

In democratic Latvia there is no place for anti-Semitism, racism and chauvinism, and there can be none.

Latvia's Belorussians Hold Conference

90UN1067C Riga ATMODA in Russian 12 Feb 90 p 7

[Article by Robert Ostrovskiy: "Latvia's Belorussians Unite"]

[Text] The first conference of Latvia's Belorussians was held 20 January. It was organized by the Svitanak and Ranitsa national cultural societies, at whose invitation delegates came to Riga from many regions of the republic. The Belorussian community is the third in size in Latvia and numbers about 120,000 people. There are especially many representatives of that nationality living in Latgalia, where one finds whole Belorussian villages. But it is precisely those villages that are practically unreached by the activities of the Belorussian national cultural societies, whose centers are located in Riga. This conference initiated a process of developing the national cultural autonomy of Belorussians in Latvia. To that end, a confederation of Latvia's Belorussian societies was formed; their activities will be coordinated by a Rada (council). A resolution adopted by the conference's participants notes that all of Latvia's Belorussians, regardless of the spectrum of their political views, should unite around their native culture.

One of the main questions at the conference was the discussion of a draft law on the rights of Latvia's national groups. The delegates deemed it timely and, by and large, endorsed it, although they noted that some of its provisions are merely general statements of desirable goals. Thus, for example, the law gives no indication of by whom and how funds for the development of Latvia's national cultures will be formed; who will determine the demand for receiving education in a native language, and how; or which departments in the republic are responsible for concluding treaties with other republics.

The conference adopted an appeal to the Latvian Council of Ministers substantiating the need for the publication of a weekly and introduction of a 15-minute radio program in Belorussian in the republic.

Latvia's Belorussians are keenly concerned over events taking place in their historical homeland, Belorussia. This was confirmed by the conference participants' adoption of an appeal to M. Gorbachev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, calling on him to assume personal control over all matters connected with the elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster. In another appeal—to Belorussia's voters—the conference participants, on behalf of Latvia's 120,000 Belorussians, called on their countrymen to give their votes in the upcoming elections to representatives of the Belorussian Language Fellowship imini Frantsisk Skorina and the Belorussian Environmental Alliance, and to candidates from the Belorussian People's Front.

Latvian Polish Union Activities Described

90UN1067D Riga ATMODA in Russian 12 Feb 90 p 6

[Interview with Itoy Kozakevich, chairman of the Latvian Polish Union, conducted by Una Meystere: "The Latvian Polish Union Today"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Meystere] It seems that the Polish society was the first to be revived.

[Kozakevich] That's true. Incidentally, a modest club of friends of Polish culture was opened in Riga back in the Brezhnev period. It numbered 300-400 people. There were no close contacts with Poland. The time of Solidarity, when a panicky fear lest, God forbid, the germ of Solidarity be imported, reigned among the USSR's leadership, was especially difficult for the club.

The society was revived 18 months ago, joining together the Riga club and Poles from Daugavpils. Then we changed from the Polish Culture Society into the Latvian Polish Union. Now we already have eight divisions: in Riga, Daugavpils, Kraslava, Rezekne, Ilukste, Dobeles, Jelgava, Liepaja, Ventspils. Altogether, we have 3,000 members.

Sunday schools have now been opened under the union's divisions. Not just Poles but Belorussians and Latvians come to them to study. So far only Riga and Daugavpils have day classes.

A series of introductory lectures on the history of religion have been introduced for adults. We are proposing to teach dogma in the schools—of course, to those who want it. At present we are conducting negotiations with Lublin Catholic University, which has promised to help us.

[Meystere] The basis of the Polish Union's activities is culture, but today hardly any national society in Latvia can exist outside the broad political context.

[Kozakevich] Of course, we are trying not to allow dark forces to take advantage of part of the Latvian population to whip up anti-Latvian, antidemocratic agitation. Many Poles well remember the times of the Latvian Republic, when the national cultures had the opportunity to develop. But to those who have arrived recently, it is harder to understand the processes taking place in Latvia. The difference in views between the Poles of Riga and those of Daugavpils is quite considerable. There are more radicals in Riga, while timidity and uncertainty are still strong in Daugavpils.

[Meystere] A bit about Poles in the USSR.

[Kozakevich] Approximately a year ago the Lithuanian Polish Union proposed the formation of a centralized organization of the USSR's Poles. For six months ideological battles raged. Why are we against it? On the one hand, we have common strategic tasks: to preserve our national identity and create favorable conditions for cultural development. At the same time, certain historical and cultural differences exist that also affect ideological orientation (the example of the Lithuanian Polish Union and the Latvian Polish Union). Moreover, in the context of a tendency toward general decentralization, it hardly makes sense to create a centralized structure.

But we have found a compromise—we have decided to establish a Coordination Council. Within the framework of the council we will help those who find themselves under difficult conditions—the Poles of the Ukraine, Belorussia and, especially, Kazakhstan.

Incidentally, recently in Poland's press Latvia has been mentioned as a positive model for the formation of nationality relations. It may not seem that way to us ourselves, but the outside view indicates that we have accomplished a fair amount in a year.

Mutalibov Meets With Azeri, Russian-Speaking Intelligentsia

90US0643A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 15 Feb 90 pp 1-2

[Azerinform report: "Responsibility Before the People"]

[Excerpts] The restructuring taking place in this country has put into motion many socio-political forces, as well

as the great working masses. In the atmosphere of democratization and openness, people have acquired civic and national pride, and have taken a more active position in life. But restructuring is accompanied by complications as well, including those that concern inter-nationality relations and the spiritual sphere. All of this has also been exhibited to its full extent in Azerbaijan. A meeting in the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee with representatives of the republic's Azeri- and Russian-speaking public was dedicated to finding ways of dealing with the situation that has developed and to restoring the former rhythm of life and work in the republic.

The meeting was opened by A. N. Mutabilov, Azerbaijan CP Central Committee first secretary.

Today we have decided to consult with you, to discuss certain questions concerning the situation in our republic, to analyze it together, and to find a way out of the current crisis situation, he said. The Azerbaijan nation is living through tragic days, and the pain in our hearts at the deaths of innocent people does not stop. We must admit that many of us, myself included, are responsible for the fact that we were unable to protect people.

Today the situation remains very complicated. In itself it presents a tangle of causes and consequences. Careful, objective analysis will be necessary to untangle it. Only by throwing off our emotions will we be able to come to a correct understanding of what has happened.

Later the orator shared his impressions of the recently concluded USSR CP Central Committee Plenum. The democratic changes that are taking place in society today, he noted, have found their reflection in the work of the Plenum, where they were filled with a new content. A broad spectrum of expressed opinions and true pluralism was characteristic of the Plenum. All of this permitted a noticeable enrichment of the USSR CP Central Committee platform for the XXVIII Party Congress that was presented for discussion.

But at the same time, it should be noted that our experience in the implementation of democratic changes is inadequate, A. N. Mutabilov emphasized. And it is only natural, as we have been far from genuine democracy for a long time, that this should be the cause of bitter clashes of opinion and open opposition in society. We are experiencing this in our republic, as well. The reason for this is an understanding of democracy that is not always correct, and is sometimes interpreted as complete permissiveness. For this reason, democracy requires protection. But for this, one must have a solid legal base. For if democracy does not lead to the renovation of society, and through this—to its development, it cannot serve the people's interests.

Democratic changes are greatly needed in our republic, as well. Only they will assure healthy competition, normalization of the situation, and the creation of conditions for everyone who wishes to develop his abilities. But how do we achieve this, how do we implement them? First of all, unconditionally, by observing ethical standards on the highest moral and cultural level, without

extremism and psychological pressure, without all of the things that beat down the idea of democracy itself. The fact that a union of the democratic intelligentsia is now being formed is heartening. We hope that it will become a truly democratic association that will occupy a worthy place in the civic life of our republic.

The party Central Committee's decisive position on the implementation of democratic changes, the withdrawal from the monopoly on power confirmed in the Constitution, noted Comrade A. N. Mutabilov, today sets new tasks for the republic's party organization and all Communists. We must fight decisively against those who wish to harm the party's authority; we must protect the integrity of the Azerbaijan CP, we must strengthen it, and make it more of a fighting party that is not afraid to compete with other socio-political associations.

When we speak of the republic's sovereignty, political and economic, we should be equally concerned with the sovereignty of the Azerbaijan CP. A paradox has occurred: the party, having announced restructuring and openness, having worked consistently all these years to expose the 'white spots' in our history, has itself come under fire. And it is not the activities of the CP as a whole that are to blame for this, but those of certain individuals who have damaged the party's authority. As a result, protests have arisen against the entire party. In our republic's example, this resentment is demonstrated by withdrawal from the ranks of the CPSU. The restoration and purging of our ranks will require much work. We must develop democracy, and facilitate the organization and formation of new progressive tendencies. What they will be called is unimportant; the main thing is that they must actively take part together with the Communist Party in the reformation of society.

Further, the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee first secretary made note of several of the more important tasks that stand before the republic at the present time. In his opinion, today it is very important that everyone—the party, the progressive associations and informal organizations, the state institutes and structures, writers, scholars, the intelligentsia as a whole—apply the maximum effort to restoring relations as they were before between nations in Azerbaijan. We must decisively resist those who are attempting to ruin relations between Azerbaijanis and the republic's Russian-speaking population. The actions of those people who organized the premature evacuation of the families of servicemen, which in turn caused confusion among the entire Russian-speaking population, were also not thought through. Actions like this, which are only to our enemies' advantage, which are aimed at intensifying inter-nationality strife, can lead to a negative attitude towards Azerbaijanis living in other republics. And there are almost one million of these. If this process is not stopped, it could lead to irreparable damages; we could become isolated.

The Azerbaijani people views its future in close association with all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Having done their part in forcing the situation and in painting a distorted picture of the Azerbaijan nation, the central mass media have created a negative public opinion about us in this country and abroad that has evoked a just, angry protest from all of the republic's inhabitants. What is it that we want? Only one thing: that no one interfere in the solutions of our personal problems, including and above all the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh. We have already entered the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], and we are gradually restoring republic sovereignty over the oblast. But this is a complicated and lengthy process. And in dealing with this process, we must display patience and tact, which are at times lacking in certain central newspapers and television programs. It was, after all, essentially they who organized the informal blockade of Azerbaijan. We have put all of these questions to the country's leadership more than once, and we will adhere firmly to our positions.

Having analyzed the current situation in the national economy, Comrade A. N. Mutalibov turned his attention to the enormous damage done to the Azerbaijan economy as a consequence of the strikes. It is already being counted in the hundred millions of rubles. And who is to blame for this? Actually, there is no one to blame. And all because of the fact that in this country, including Azerbaijan, political issues are dealt with through economic pressure and strikes.

But it is the simple workers of the republic who suffer most of all from today's absences from the work place. Economic ties that have been made with other regions in the country are being broken; our enterprises are losing their partners' trust. If this continues, Azerbaijan's economy could become paralyzed, and some facilities could be broken up and dismantled.

It must be said, noted the orator, that not only the extremists are to blame for the creation of anarchy in production. All of us must stop and come to our senses. We all mourn for the innocent victims, but we must also think about tomorrow. We cannot remain locked within our grief. This can embitter people even more, and can make them suffer in new ways. Each of us bears responsibility for our people's future. And in these difficult days, we must help our people to show wisdom, to bring good words to the masses, to restore faith and justice in people. The clergy, with its eternal striving for peace and brotherhood, can do much in this matter. All of the republic's healthy forces must unite, not in words, but in deed, even to the point of organizing a council for national salvation. But this must not be done as it was in the past, when people spoke of the nation's unity while tugging it apart along its "streets and blind alleys," and orated against regionalism and clannishness while unashamedly cultivating them.

In speaking of strengthening the republic's political and economic sovereignty, the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee first secretary turned his attention to the necessity of assuring that the Azerbaijan language serve as the government language, and that its role be increased in all spheres of life. But this process must not decrease the significance of the Russian language as the language of inter-nationality communication to any degree.

"One of the most important tasks is for our republic to achieve a higher level of self-sufficiency within the framework of the Soviet Federation," said A. N. Mutalibov. The Azerbaijan people must become familiar with their riches, and must dispose of them as they wish. And we have the decisiveness, bravery, and knowledge to achieve this.

Georgian Dissident Leader's Attack on Paper Finally Printed

*18130084A Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian
16 Feb 90 pp 3-4*

[Article dated 10 March 1988 by Zviad Gamsakhurdia: "Know Thy Chair, Or, So Much For Your Perestroyka (An Open Letter to the Editors of KOMUNISTI)"]

[Text]Hobgoblins of the Past

In late February of 1988, following a rally of university students who demanded that the artillery gunnery range be moved away from the Davit Garetdzha Museum Preserve, KOMUNISTI apparently caught a bad case of retrogression. To everybody's astonishment, the newspaper returned to some lampoons against me that it printed 10 and 30 years ago. And it has been assuring us that "the kindly criticism, advice, and admonitions of those days haven't worked," because Zviad Gamsakhurdia still remains Zviad Gamsakhurdia, and his position has not changed a whit since then. On the other hand, as we know, KOMUNISTI itself has undergone changes and perestroyka lately, in tune with the era, achieving great success on the glasnost front and becoming forthright, which means of course that it is now a different KOMUNISTI and not the same one that used to portray black as white, rumors as true facts, and slander as kindness. So how are we to explain the fact that this "perestroyka-ed" newspaper on 28 February 1988 published a new lampoon, "Know Thyself," which surpassed the "masterpieces" of the past era in terms of rumors, bile, and falsification? And how can this restructured newspaper of today define as "kindly criticism, advice, and admonition" the kind of unprecedented orgies of vilification and recrimination that were launched against me from the pages of the press? Isn't that the tone of rubrics and headlines such as "Treacherous Hypocrites," "Traitors," "A Curse on Zviad Gamsakhurdia," "A Militant Money-Grubber," "Defective Offspring," "Slanders and Provocateurs Must Be Made To Answer," and so on? How's that for friendly advice and admonition?! This is what KOMUNISTI is striving to breathe new life into today!

Who's Giving Advice?

My newly emerged champion, teacher, and advisor, the author of these new admonitions (to use his words), apparently has a secondary and higher education. Otherwise he would not have been entrusted with such a responsible position on a central press organ. He informs us indignantly: "The foreign radio stations have called Zviad Gamsakhurdia a Tbilisi University professor, and he has not denied that falsehood!" All right, but now let's ask our newly emerged enlightener whether in fact he knows the meaning of the word "professor"? Has he ever heard that in Europe the word "professor" is used to mean simply "teacher," which is its original meaning in Latin? Ignorance of this fact should make us doubt whether he obtained his secondary school certificate by honorable means. God help your press if its central organ is managed by persons of that kind of "competence." I'm reminded of an atheism lecturer in Tbilisi who used to parrot the phrase, religion is the opiate of the people, but when they asked him what opiate meant he couldn't answer. And so, my dear journalist seeking the wisdom of Delphos, first you ought to learn what the word "professor" really means.

Let Thy Conscience Show Thy Worth, Or, You Are What You Were

Since you have caught a case of nostalgia and retrogression, let me now remind you of certain facts from the past. Today you have nothing but praise for my late father, always referring to him as Great Konstantine, but didn't you also reprint the 20 December 1956 KOMUNISTI article in which your spiritual forerunners and colleagues reviled Konstantine Gamsakhurdia for raising "an untalented, shiftless, hooligan" son (the article was titled "Weeds"), which gave him a heart attack and doomed him to death? So that praising me now is a betrayal of the historical truth on your part, alleging so much "good," "talent," and "eminence" in the past. By doing so you are going against your own newspaper's position. Oh, but I forgot: maybe I was "untalented, a weed and a hooligan" prior to perestroika, but since perestroika I have suddenly become talented, good, and eminent. Now that's real nice and how can I ever thank you.

Now let's recall even earlier epithets for Great Konstantine, which your newspaper used to apply so liberally: "a fascist," "an agent of the imperialist bourgeoisie," "a slavish worshipper of the West," "a counterrevolutionary," "an anti-Soviet," and so on.

Look, KOMUNISTI, don't betray your traditions. You're the same as you were, as is well attested by the reappearance of "Weeds" in your pages today. In connection with the reprinting of this libel, I am soon summoning you to court, where M. Kostava and I have already filed suit. We will ask you to produce "Worker P" as a witness—the person Merab Kostava and I supposedly "wounded"—and also to identify N. P., who is bewailing his tragic fate. And if you cannot produce

and identify these people, we will demand that you confess your motive in inventing these nonexistent people and the purpose of your slanderous orgy against me; I will also demand that you be made to answer for other falsehoods.

Cheaters' Methods

The perestroika-ed apostle of this perestroika-ed newspaper has proved to have a truly astonishing talent for distorting the facts. He has made a careful study of M. Kostava's and my file, whose 56 volumes are kept in the archives of the KGB [Committee for State Security]—where, apparently, his colleagues have very willingly allowed him to enter. He tries to astound readers with his knowledge of the details of the case, but it seems he is not very good at reading and writing and has failed to copy certain figures, facts, and dates correctly. He has also, at times, inserted his own concocted misinformation in quoting from my file and the charges against me, probably thinking no one would catch him at it. I don't know about anybody else, but I always restrain cheaters like that. Here's what he says: "Z. Gamsakhurdia and other members of the gang established contact with persons hostile to the USSR and provided them with biased, slanderous information." Where does he get that? **File No 131 contains nothing of the sort, nor does the charge against me.** To back it up, the author quotes, "An American embassy staffer apparently passed me some anti-Soviet literature." Yes, but **taking** some literature from someone is one thing; giving someone slanderous information is quite another! That's how objective he is in elucidating our case.

This big "expert" on our case also says that I was arraigned in 1978, whereas it actually happened in April 1977. He says that after nine months in exile I appeared on Vremya; actually, the videotape of my interrogation was televised before I was exiled; and so on. In his use of words with their opposite meaning, as well, he is an inveterate KOMUNISTian. He says our trial was "open"; actually, a fly couldn't get in there, and no one else was admitted without a special pass which was checked at several checkpoints where passports and identification had to be shown! It is symptomatic, moreover, that our "impartial history man" has made the case of two men, Gamsakhurdia and Kostava (No 131), into the case of one man. He has cleverly "reduced" M. Kostava's role and contribution "to zero" (probably hoping that this would annoy Kostava and set him against his friend, but our man was disappointed). He also "discovered" that I did not publish a single artistic work prior to 1978 (apparently our "learned journalist" is very ignorant when it comes to MNATOBI, TSISKARI, DROSHA, and LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO). It would be no wonder if no one would print me, considering that in today's happy and perestroika-ed era a Central Committee secretary announced publicly at a conference of editors and press workers in August 1987, "Don't you print a single line by that scoundrel Zviad Gamsakhurdia." You can imagine how

his predecessor would have complimented me and what measures he would take against me on the literary front.

"Repentance"

Our Brezhnevite-Andropovite, cloaked in the raiment of perestroika and glasnost, has called my "repentance" an act of wrapping myself "in sheep's clothing."

Just what was this "repentance"? What brought it about, and what results did it yield? These are questions which concern many, and much disinformation has been circulated about them by a specially instructed apparatus and persons manipulated by it.

The fact is that along with my national and legitimate activities in the past, I used to print and distribute large amounts of literature and materials (chiefly emigre) which according to the Code were classified as "anti-Soviet," although I believed that since the USSR had signed the Human Rights Declaration, the Helsinki Agreement, and other pacts which guarantee the freedom to disseminate any information, distributing literature of that sort ought not to be considered a crime. But because of the extreme contradiction between the country's internal juridical practices and the international obligations assumed by the USSR at the time, the dissemination of that kind of literature—whatever the motive behind its dissemination—was considered a crime and was harshly punished, which was condemned by world public opinion and which, indeed, the present-day leadership of the USSR intends to review.

I saw that this situation would have to be taken into account. It would damage our national and legitimate activities, our cause, our nation, and so I decided to change course and position, to take account of the existing law, which they placed higher than the Helsinki Agreement that guided me—especially since I had no intention of renouncing my Soviet citizenship. I resolved to live in my country, Georgia, and share my nation's fate. The KGB notified me in no uncertain terms, however, that I would have to leave Georgia and emigrate if I did not repent.

Therefore, I confessed to the crime of printing and disseminating the aforementioned literature and materials, and I "repented" everything. By doing so I helped bring about many positive changes in our nation's life, because the authorities themselves compromised to a certain extent—one compromise being that the Church's position changed for the better, it experienced partial liberalization, and Ilia II's position (regarding whom you have been spreading so many rumors) became stronger. Many of our demands were met in other spheres as well, as Merab Kostava remarked in his statement about my repentance, which, unfortunately for you, was published all over the world. The dialogue which the authorities offered to A. Sakharov was also offered at the time to me. A. Sakharov and his followers do not consider such a dialogue to be a betrayal to the cause. Nor do I consider it a betrayal to the cause if it is conducted in a reasonable and cautious manner.

Nonrepentance Would Have Been Better

Although it is clear that it would have been better for our nation's enemies if I had not repented at all, it would have been better for them to deport me and M. Kostava (because no one would have dared keep nominees for the Nobel Prize in prison for long), in order to allow total anarchy to prevail in Georgia, to leave the national movement in the hands of inexperienced young people and thereby destroy it. This is why you can hear certain people today hissing "He repented out of weakness," "He repented for the sake of his own wellbeing." They are also disgruntled by the fact that I found the right way to struggle and that the Georgian national movement today is proceeding on the basis of international law, which makes it invincible. For our enemies, of course, naked anti-Sovietism would have been better, for then it would have been easier to repress and destroy our national forces! This is why my repentance is such a great evil to them! This is why KOMUNISTI is grieving about the past! This is why it is trying to call back the pathetic hobgoblins of the past! It is placing its hopes on them, grasping at straws, saying nothing about the present, my activities today, activities which, alas, it can no longer merely label as anti-Soviet. This is why KOMUNISTI's reporting of my activities today is so skimpy; this is why they are making up rumors about cows and people stealing them, people I'm supposed to be defending in my "anti-Soviet zeal." What? You've run out of steam? Sorry, but you'll just have to get used to it, my friends!

Facts Turned Upside Down

Almost every phrase and sentence in this libelous piece contains a lie and a falsehood. Exposing each one of them would take a lot of time and space, so I will dwell on only a few of them. As I mentioned, the author states that I appeared on Vremya after nine months in exile, denounced my "deeds," and begged forgiveness. In actuality, everything was the opposite. I never appeared on television; they showed the videotape of my interrogation on television without my permission (and only half of it at that), after having told me at the time of the filming that it was to be shown in court. Anyway, the interrogation tape was passed off as "a television interview." In the second place, I did not denounce my deeds or beg forgiveness; what I did was acknowledge my mistake of printing and distributing the deeds of others—that is, materials that I had not written. In the third place, as I mentioned above, the videotape of my interrogation was shown prior to my exile, right after the trial, on 19 May 1978—and not after my exile, as our "impartial history man" states. And I asked for pardon in a letter I sent from my place of exile, rather than on the tape. We can see, then, that everything was the opposite. It really is very clever to put so many lies and so much disinformation into one sentence.

It is true that there are some insincere moments in my statement asking for pardon, as well as phrasing that is unusual for me, but after all, was the great Ilia sincere

when, for tactical reasons, he extolled Russia's annexation of Georgia on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of that event, solely in order to preserve the only Georgian newspaper and save the national cause?

Now let's look at the "wellbeing" that greeted me on my return from exile: a house ransacked by the Cheka, with no heating, water leaking in, robbed, my library and my father's archives torn up and trashed, house arrest, my little children going hungry (literally), a boycott by editorial boards and publishing houses, everything sequestered by the civil court, which they made me go through three more years, and a lot of other "fun" like that.

So that's what I was supposedly striving for by my repentance, and what I got. The newspaper has falsified and reworked various of my letters, including one to Andropov and to various authorities concerning the facts which were witnessed by many people, including Merab Kostava. There are also a number of medical documents, as is attested in writing by a KGB agent, the manuscript of which is held by the Kalinin Rayon militia. In particular, on 20-23 September 1975, persons unknown poisoned my yard and my car with an unidentified gaseous substance, with the result that all the domestic animals and poultry in my yard died and I myself was on the brink of death for one week due to asphyxia, high blood pressure, and heart failure. A blood test showed toxic poisoning, and my wife also became ill from the same symptoms (similar substances were used during the same period on Moscow writer V. Voynovich and other dissidents). Meanwhile, the newspaper scoffed that our pulse was too fast and our rooster died, that's what our fuss was all about. During the same period, persons unknown tampered with my car's brakes, and it was only a miracle that I survived an accident after having been warned by some well-wishers. The author of this libelous piece, however, says something about the motor rather than the brakes, just in order to muddy the water and make the reader laugh.

But it doesn't matter. The originals of my letters are kept in safe places, and the time will come when people will compare them with the newspaper's lies and demand that the falsifiers answer for it. On 17 February 1988, a department of the Georgian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] officially denied my wife, M. Archvadze-Gamsakhurdia, permission to take our son Tsotne to West Germany, to Saarbrücken, although I had received an official invitation from that country's Prime Minister Lafontaine and a private invitation from one of my friends. I didn't even ask for permission to go myself, after being blackmailed by a KGB staffer who informed me that the KGB was very interested in hustling me quickly abroad, the subtext of which is something any child can guess.

Yet the newspaper wrote, in black and white: "One fine day he was notified: your request has been granted, you can take your son abroad for medical treatment." We were absolutely astonished, thinking that perhaps they

had made some decision between 17 and 28 February, so we quickly phoned the Visa Department, but the MVD officer himself was surprised at such effrontery and deception by the newspaper; he muttered something inaudible and hung up on us without a word.

As for Ilia II, the Catholicus-Patriarch of all Georgia, about whom you concocted so many rumors in the same article, he quite clearly stated his attitude toward you, Mister Nugzar Popkhadze, when he drove you out of the Patriarchate, where you had come with your television camera to tape a vicious interview about Zviad Gamsakhurdia. That ought to hold you for a long time. It also shows how right you are in everything you have concocted about my claims to priesthood or bishopric. You also insinuated that I was slandering the leader of the Georgian Church, presumably referring to the criminal "Metropolitan" Bidzina Keratishvili and the "Archbishop" Tsezar Ananiashvili, who has now been convicted of wrongdoing!

I also "learned" from your newspaper that I am always quarreling with my father's former chauffeur Tsotsoria and with my own sister. Tell me one thing, sir: how can one quarrel with a man who died ten years ago? To my knowledge, you communists don't believe in the hereafter, but that chauffeur's son that you are referring to is not a chauffeur at all but a warehouse manager. He is my neighbor, and therefore, out of fear of being arrested, he has been forced to knuckle under to the relevant organs, which have instructed him to keep an eye on me and carry out a thousand provocations against me. But you have concealed this person's activities and occupation in order to prevent readers from learning what's going on.

As for the other victim of the KGB, N. Gamsakhurdia and her husband, who also filed suit against me in court in an attempt to evict me from my father's house and insult my father's memory, as a gesture of protest I refused to show up at any of the court sessions, so that none of them was ever held. Finally, on 21 September 1982, the Appeals Board of the Tbilisi Court rescinded Case No 793 as having been illegally instigated by Natela Gamsakhurdia, as is stated in the Board's Decision No 775. If KOMUNISTI can prove that I quarreled with N. Gamsakhurdia, and can name the date and place of the court session where I supposedly stated "Natela Konstantinovna Gamsakhurdia has nothing coming from our father's estate and I do not recognize her as my sister," I will tell you that you're right and I will take back what I said. Otherwise, you yourself will have to appear in court and promptly answer for your lies and slander.

And guess what else: "Z. Gamsakhurdia's private home is being repaired at a cost of 165,000 rubles (!), and he's being paid his father's royalties!" Would you kindly refrain from pulling the wool over people's eyes in broad daylight! Every child knows that the house Z. Gamsakhurdia lives in is Konstantine Gamsakhurdia's memorial home, called Kolkhuri Koshki [Colchidian Tower], and the repairs are not being made for Z. Gamsakhurdia

but for Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, and at that only after members of its jubilee commission saw with their own eyes in June of 1983 how run-down the house was, its roof was leaking and destroying the writer's library, archives, and personal mementoes, while the writer's son and his family, owing to the unprecedented economic blockade, had nothing to live on.

As for the artificially inflated figure of the cost estimate—165,000 rubles—it exists only in your fantasy, because the repairs are not yet completed, the estimate has not been properly calculated, and it will probably come to barely half that. Apart from that, considering that each volume in the writer's 20-volume set of works brings 70,000 to 80,000 rubles to the state, isn't it reasonable that the royalties from one of the writer's volumes should be spent on his house and legacy? What does Zviad Gamsakhurdia have to do with it? As for municipal taxes, is there any other writer's memorial home that pays them? And how come my legitimate request has been dismissed in the newspaper as a totally unfounded claim? But when you need to, you can also conceal the fact that I am Konstantine Gamsakhurdia's son. For example, in family photos you always cut out the picture of me beside him and clip my face from tapes broadcast on television.

As for the harassment and attacks against my children in school, making them prisoners at home, the falsification of facts about them, my wife can give you a proper answer about that, and I won't say anything more about it here.

Unrevealed Sorrow

Now I'll tell you in writing what your innermost thoughts are—that is, everything you have chosen to be silent about, the reason why you've become so enraged and lost your balance. In the flurry of your vilifications, to be sure, you have let slip a couple of words about it, but you haven't related it to the overall context, in order that the reader might not guess what is most troubling to you and has led you to this measure.

You cannot stomach the fact that I am today still impartially exposing, verbally or in writing, every violation of the Georgian nation's constitutional rights; for this purpose I am publishing the journal *MATIANE* [Herald], which you have placed a taboo upon because you cannot compete with it. I am fighting to restore the official status of the Georgian language, I am fighting to restore the teaching of the real history of Georgia in the schools, I am fighting to restore the rights of the Georgian Church, to reinstate the religious rights of the Georgian people, I am fighting for real rather than pretended protection of Georgia's cultural monuments. I am exposing Ilia's assassins, whom you are protecting. I am fighting for the rights of the Georgian population in Abkhazia, the Ingilo Country, and Meskheta-Dzhavakhetia. I am fighting to halt the migration of the Georgian population to Russia. I am fighting against the damaging Caucasian Mountain Railroad Project. I am

fighting against the destruction of our environment and cultural monuments by hydroelectric power plants and reservoirs; and so on. But you cannot declare all of this to be "anti-Soviet acts"! This is why you are calling upon the ghosts of the past, foaming at the mouth, and doing your best to smother me in clouds of rumors. That's what you mean when you say, "Not a single day dawns or a night falls that he does not dig up some shortcoming, write a letter of complaint or send a telegram"—except then you lie and say, "every one of these complaints concerns harassment of him."

But the main theme and fervor of your article is this: "Zviad Gamsakhurdia, we have done so much for you, we have repaired your father's memorial house and given you your father's royalties (only these have been spent on repairs, of course), we have reduced your taxes, printed one of your little books, but you still won't keep quiet, you can't rest, you won't permit us to Russify Georgia or let Georgia be swallowed up in the internationalist conglomerate, you will not let the Georgian language be banished from science and official institutions, you will not allow abolition of the teaching of Georgian history in the schools, the subordination of the Georgian Church to the KGB, the conversion of Georgian temples into restaurants and bordellos, the destruction of Georgian cultural monuments by military forces, by the Caucasus Mountain Railroad Project, hydroelectric power plants and reservoirs, the Azerbaijaniization of the Ingilo Country, the Armenianization of Meskheta-Dzhavakhetia, the Ossetianization of Inner Kartli, the Tartarization of Lower Kartli, and the gradual resettlement of the Georgian population in Russia by migration. How long are you going to be so ungrateful and arrogant?! Patience has its limits! You anti-Soviet! Traitor! Slanderer! We'll have you arrested! We'll destroy you! We'll deport you!"

No, my friends, you don't know me. You call upon me to know myself, but you really need to know me better yourselves. Whomever you bought with those 30 pieces of silver remains bought. As for me, however, as Luther put it, I intend to have my say even if as many devils rise up against me as there are tiles on the roof of this church.

But kindly don't grieve Great Ilia's ghost in your filthy lampoons. Rather, instead of Ilia, you should swear by your own ideological ancestor, your spiritual father and party colleague Pilipe [Makharadze], whose bones were recently dug up from the Mtatsminda Pantheon by the Georgian people, and whose worthy successors you yourselves are both in terms of party and ideology and in terms of rumor-mongering and falsification.

Goodbye for now, for I have made you well aware of yourselves, your chair, and your perestroika.

Your time is gone.

It's true that your glasnost is a one-way street, but I still suggest that you print this letter without any changes; otherwise you will be called to court and made to answer for slander and falsification of the facts.

[signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, 10 March 1988.

P.S. As for the court, it was in fact scheduled by Merab Kostava's and my suit, but there was a dispute with KOMUNISTI staffers, who attempted to have a television crew attend the court session. It was our opinion that this posed the danger of editing [montazh] and falsification; as a result, the court session was not held and the case remains unexamined to this day.

FROM THE EDITORS:

At Zviad Gamsakhurdia's request, we are printing his response to KOMUNISTI's article of 28 February 1988 unchanged. It is probably no longer necessary to explain why we delayed this long. Besides the fact that the editorial leadership has been replaced, it must also be stated that it is quite a distance from the proclamation of glasnost to its actual establishment, to genuine pluralism, and this is something both the author and the reader need to take into account.

Opposition to Russian as State Language 90UN1194A Kiev LITERATURNIA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian No 8, 22 Feb 90 p 1

[Open letter by D. V. Pavlychko, chairman of the Ukrainian Language Society imeni Taras Shevchenko: "Open Letter to the Deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet elected from the Ukrainian SSR"]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! The agenda of the current session of the USSR Supreme Soviet includes the question of legalizing in statutory form the official status of the Russian language within the Soviet federation.

In this connection the board of the Ukrainian Language Society imeni Taras Shevchenko declares:

1. Legislative recognition of the leading role of any one language in a federation of peoples enjoying equality under the law, such as the USSR is to become, is nothing other than declaring one language (Russian in this case) to be the state language. Such an action, which V. I. Lenin strongly opposed, will mean official, formal articulation of the privileged status of one language and the speakers of that language over others.

2. The law on the official status of the Russian language, if adopted, will mean catastrophe for the Ukrainian nation, for it will nullify the hopes of the Ukrainian people for revival of the Ukrainian language following several hundred years of violation and outrage. The Law on Languages in the Ukrainian SSR, ratified by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet on 28 October 1989, will be totally nullified.

3. Adoption of this legislative enactment will have, with the exception of the Russian Republic, equally catastrophic consequences for all union and autonomous republics, where the dying out of the language of an indigenous nationality will lead to the disappearance of that ethnic group.

4. The draft law on an official status for the Russian language is a manifestation of great-power arrogance and an echo of imperial but by no means new thinking.

The Ukrainian Language Society imeni Taras Shevchenko resolutely opposes adoption on this bill.

The board of the Society appeals to you, representatives of the Ukrainian State in both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, not to take part in discussion of and voting on any bill which officially and formally articulates the preeminence of one language within a federation of peoples of the USSR.

We ask that you communicate our feelings to the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet from other union republics, with the request that they support our action.

On behalf of the board of the Ukrainian Language Society imeni Taras Shevchenko, Chairman of the Society and USSR People's Deputy D. V. Pavlychko.

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Appeal for Civil Order 90UN1194B Kiev LITERATURNIA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian No 8, 22 Feb 90 p 1

[Public appeal by Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet: "Appeal to the Citizens of the Ukraine by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet

[Text] Dear Comrades! The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic appeals to the heart and reason of each of you to assess the present moment in a responsible manner.

The Soviet Ukraine, just as our entire multiethnic country, is going through a complicated stage of revolutionary transformations. They are not taking place smoothly, but are encountering obstacles. Problems and conflicts are coming to the surface which have been accumulating over the course of many years. In addition, new difficulties have arisen: there has been a decline in discipline, shortages of goods have increased, the crime rate is rising, and there is occurring an increase in the shadow economy and instability in society.

Various adventurists and ethnic-strife opportunists are exploiting this situation. Spreading rumors and slander, they are attempting to discredit socialist choice and Soviet rule, are inciting the workers to ill-considered actions, and are bringing chaos and enmity to society.

All this is arousing indignation and legitimate alarm on the part of this republic's workers.

The Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, governmental and party agencies, and the mass media are receiving many letters from workforces and individuals. These letters express concern that activation of destructive forces in this republic could lead to civil confrontation.

Sharing this concern, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic appeals to the worker class, to the peasantry, to the intelligentsia, to every resident of the Ukraine, irrespective of age, ethnic and social affiliation, to display civic maturity at this critical hour of perestroika, not to be deceived by ringing slogans and not to give in to provocation.

We call upon you to reject extremism, nationalism, separatism, and chauvinism, to strengthen the unity of peoples of all nationalities and ethnic affiliation.

Everyone who is truly not indifferent to the fate of the Ukrainian people should possess a profound awareness that it is not ethnic isolation or setting oneself apart but rather genuine sovereignty and economic independence of the republic within the framework of a renewed Soviet federation that will bring about a turning point in the socioeconomic development of the Ukraine and assure a normal life for our citizens.

What will happen to us tomorrow will depend on how we succeed in introducing order in our common home. This can be done only on the basis of socialist renewal, consolidation, discipline, and well-considered actions.

The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR in turn is taking measures to stabilize the situation in this republic and to improve those laws the purpose of which is to regulate societal relations in regard to the tasks of perestroika and to guarantee the constitutional freedoms and rights of citizens.

In order to reduce tensions in society, the republic Supreme Soviet is urgently requesting that the republic government ensure unconditional fulfillment of production targets pertaining to foodstuffs and consumer goods and that supply of these goods to the public be improved within the current year, that immediate steps be taken to resolve the most acute environmental problems, and that a plan for transition by the republic to economic autonomy be submitted for consideration by the Supreme Soviet at the earliest possible time.

The Supreme Soviet is of the conviction that the local soviets of people's deputies, carrying out their constitutional authority, will increase demands on law enforcement agencies, will ensure in each community strict observance of Soviet laws and the inevitability of punishment for criminal acts and violation of rule of law, and will resolutely protect the security of citizens, as should be the case in a state governed by rule of law.

We deputies to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet request that the USSR Supreme Soviet speed up the process of reaching decisions on matters pertaining to renewal of the Soviet federation, investing genuine content to the sovereignty of the union republics, as well as matters pertaining to settlement of interethnic relations.

We hope that the country's supreme agency of governmental authority will use all its prestige and powers to stabilize the situation in society, to bring order in this

country, and will use all means to protect the life, honor, and dignity of each and every Soviet citizen.

Dear comrades! On 4 March you will be electing representatives to republic bodies of governmental authority. We have faith that you will make your personal choice in a serious and well-considered manner and that you will elect to the soviets at all levels persons who are honest, competent, hardworking, dedicated to the interests of the people, and open in their thoughts and actions. By this you will be placing a solid impediment to destructive forces.

Let us mobilize our knowledge and will for the building of a humane, democratic society and for ensuring the socioeconomic development of our native Ukraine.

Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. (This appeal was adopted at the 20th Session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, on 17 February 1990).

Party Status for Rukh Proposed

*90UN1368A Kiev LITERATURNIA UKRAYINA
in Ukrainian No 10, 8 Mar 90 p 1*

[Appeal: "To Rukh Members and All Citizens of Ukraine"]

[Text] A lot of election platforms of candidates for people's deputies to Ukraine Soviets of all levels contained a paragraph on a multiparty system. The dictates of one party have been and remain the foundation of a commanding-administrative system. Democracy, which is unthinkable without political pluralism, cannot develop further without eliminating the monopoly on power and the truth. The CPSU, being the dominating force in our society, must bear the responsibility for the famine of 1932-1933 in the Republic, annihilation of Ukrainian intelligentsia, deportation and repressions, policy of Russification, and economic decline and ecologic tragedy of the Ukraine. The CPSU keeps laying claim to the monopolistic position and tries to retain the leading role in the economic and national and State life of the peoples of the USSR. Of course, there are healthy forces in the CPSU, which are trying to help the country out of the crisis. However, the great-power orientation, which remains the CPSU's soul, will not make it possible to accomplish this. Now it has become clear that as long as there is a single party with a single center for all the peoples of the USSR, there will be national, social and spiritual oppression. At this stage, we would like to see the Ukrainian Communist Party as a separate left-wing party under a democratic flag, a party not managed from Moscow.

In order to dismantle the commanding-administrative system, it is necessary not just to democratize a single party, but to establish a multiparty system, the only guarantor of the democratic situation in and development of the society. A number of workers' and farmers' collectives we have been meeting lately demand that a party based on Rukh's Program and Rules be organized.

To revive the Ukraine by the will of the conservative majority of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, which has been demonstrated at its latest Plenum, is impossible, and to work for the imperial Moloch disguised with false words about a "renewed federation" is inadmissible.

Hence, we call for an immediate holding of a special NRU [Ukraine People's Movement] Congress, which would develop the concept of the Rukh and its activities as a political party. We appeal to all political groups and trends that have a similar objective to consolidate with Rukh. A great unity is a guarantee of victory. In these historic times, the Ukraine People's Movement for Restructuring, supported by Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians, by all honest citizens of the Republic, must assume the responsibility in the struggle for the fate of the Ukrainian people and all peoples that live on our land, to defend, based democratic foundations, in a peaceful dialog with all political parties and groups and, guided by the people's will, build the real and final independence of the Ukraine.

Galina Antonyuk, Yuriy Badzyo, Mykola Bidzilya, Oleksandr Burakovskiy, Stepan Vovk, Voleslav Geychenko, Sergiy Golovatyy, Mykhaylo Goryn, Vitaliy Donchyk, Ivan Drach, Dmytro Zakharuk, Pavlo Kyslyy, Sergiy Konyev, Roman Lubkivskiy, Levko Lukuyanenko, Volodymyr Mulyava, Dmytro Pavlychko, Larysa Skoryk, Petro Talanchuk, Viktor Teren, Borys Tymoshenko and Volodymyr Yavorivskyy.

Ukrainian KGB Meeting on Nationalists, Insurrection Army

90UN1133A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
11 Feb 90 p 4

[Unattributed RATAU article: "The Human Blood Cannot Be Washed Off: A Conference in the Ukrainian SSR KGB"]

[Text] At a conference of Ukrainian SSR Committee for State Security [KGB] workers with journalists held in Kiev on 9 February, there was a discussion concerning the crimes of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and its Ukrainian Insurrection Army's [OUN-UPA] armed bands on Ukrainian territory.

It was noted that the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, founded in 1929, conducted a continuous subversive operation against Soviet authority. Its leaders, closely associated with the Fascists, carried out Hitlerite intelligence missions. The Abwehr [German Intelligence

Service] formed the "Roland" and "Nachtigall" Legions out of a number of the Banderans on the eve of the war, and the "Galichina" SS Division was formed in 1943.

Beginning late in 1942, the Banderans, under direct German SS [spetssluzhba] supervision, created the so-called Ukrainian Insurrection Army (UPA), the armed formations of which included about 90,000 men. The Fascists turned over to these more than 700 mortars, about 78,000 pieces of other barreled weapons and 100,000 grenades, and other munitions. During 10 years (1944-1953), the OUN-UPA carried out 14,424 armed-banditry attacks, including more than 5,000 acts of terrorism and sabotage and over 1,000 arsons of kolkhoz and sovkhoz property and machinery and tractor stations [MTS], raids on rural soviets and clubs, and armed robberies.

Over 30,000 peaceful Soviet citizens and about 25,000 military personnel, law enforcement agency and KGB officers, and border guards died at the bandits' hands. Among those who died, according to incomplete data, were more than 2,500 party workers and active members, about 600 chairmen of kolkhozes and rural soviets, and over 1,900 teachers and physicians. In the 1945-1948 period alone, more than 50 Russian Orthodox priests were killed by OUN members in the Lvov, Drohobychsko-Sambor, and (Stanislav) Eparchies.

The journalists were shown original documents from those years, photographs, archival materials, and testimony of bandits themselves and their victims.

All of this proves once again what Banderanism represented, and what its true nature was. Thus the attempts of certain "truth lovers" to justify and even rehabilitate it seem blasphemous.

At the same time, it is known that in 1944 and 1945 alone, as a result of extensive explanatory work within the population and repeated appeals of the highest organs of Ukrainian SSR authority to OUN-UPA members, about 30,000 persons came out of the underground and admitted their guilt. These were released from criminal responsibility and offered jobs. True, this was not managed without serious offenses and deviations. There is talk of mass expulsion of the republic's western-oblast residents who are suspected of complicity, or even sympathy, with OUN-UPA members.

V.M. Yevtushenko, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR KGB, and P.S. Podgaynyy, V.M. Shevchuk, and V.I. Pristayko, chiefs of Committee subdivisions, spoke to the conference's participants and answered their questions.

Statistics on USSR Crime in 1989

90UN1086A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No 8,
19-25 Feb 90 pp 11, 21

[Editorial: "Our Safety in the Mirror of Statistics"]

[Text] The results of the work by the country's law enforcement agencies last year have been summed up by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Information Center.

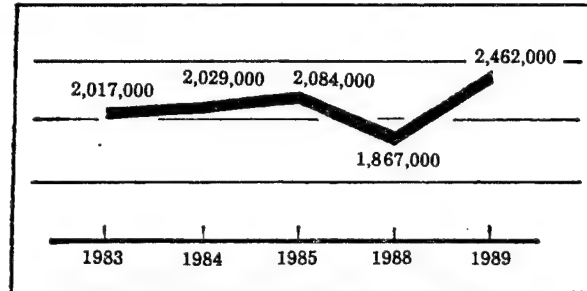
The editorial board believes that the readers would be quite interested in some of the data.

Agencies of internal affairs and the procuracy examined almost 4 million statements and reports on crimes last year.

The following diagram reflects the dynamics of crime during past years.

During 1989, agencies of internal affairs and the procuracy recorded 2,461,692 crime, or 594,469 more than in 1988. An increase in crime was noted in all regions of the country. The increase in the crime rate, which was 37.4

percent at the beginning of the year, fell to 34 percent in the middle of the year, and by the end of the year was 31.8 percent. The maximum increase in crime rate (+34.7 percent) took place in 1961. An increase in crime rate lower than for the USSR was noted in 7 union republics, 10 autonomous republics, 5 krais, and 25 oblasts of the Russian Federation.



Overall Structure and Dynamics of Crime	1988		1989		
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Percentage Increase
Total Number of crimes recorded	1,867,223		2,461,692		31.8
Grave crimes	258,302	13.8	367,462	14.9	42.3
Property crimes	964,037	51.6	1,431,360	58.1	48.5
Personal crime	189,764	10.2	314,675	12.8	65.8
Crime in transportation	81,458	4.4	95,191	3.9	16.9
Crimes in sphere of economics	263,351	14.1	257,485	10.5	-2.2

An analysis of criminal and legal statistics shows that the increase was mainly from crimes that had a pronounced mercenary nature, which is illustrated by the following diagram.

Grave Crimes

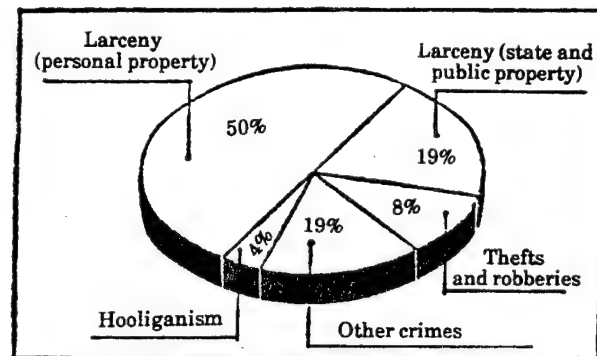
Almost one out of every seven crimes recorded last year was a grave crime.

The following diagram illustrates the dynamics of the most dangerous crimes against the person.

One out of every three homicides was committed because of jealousy or other domestic reasons. Women account for 9 percent of the individuals having criminal proceedings instituted for homicides. Eighteen percent of the homicides were first-degree murders.

A sample survey conducted in Moscow, Moscow Oblast, and Chuvash ASSR indicates that 18.5 percent of these

crimes were committed for mercenary motives, 9-10 percent were committed to conceal another crime and for hooliganistic motives, and 1 out of every 5 was committed against relatives. Women accounted for 31 percent of the victims. Almost half of the victims had been drinking alcoholic beverages with the perpetrators at the time of the homicide.

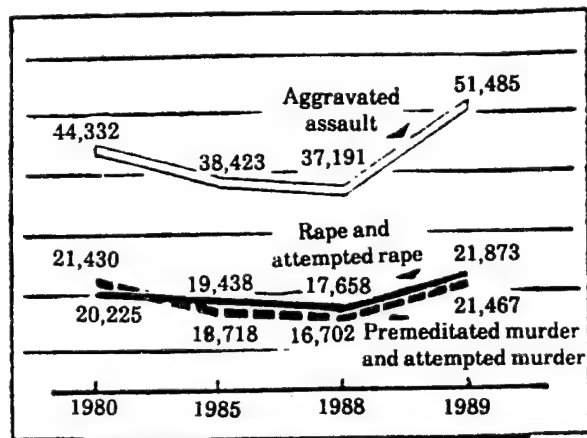


The number of encroachments on cash registers of enterprises and organizations increased (+28 percent), as did encroachments on weapons and ammunition rooms (+44 percent). As of 1 January 1990, a search was under way for 651 Kalashnikov assault rifles, 2,006 Makarov pistols, and more than 3,000 other rifled firearms.

Property Crimes

This group accounts for about three-fifths of all crimes. Cases of robberies of state installations have become more frequent (1,349 or +83.0 percent), as have robberies of individual citizens (20,825 or +71.0 percent).

Material losses from larceny involving state and public property were 72.2 million rubles. Goods worth 24.9 million rubles were stolen from warehouses, bases, store, and other trade points.



Dynamics of Property Crimes by Union Republics

Union Republic	Total Crimes Recorded	Percentage Increase over 1988	Percentage of Total Number of Crimes
Estonian SSR	14,413	74.7	75.3
Lithuanian SSR	21,318	70.9	68.2
Turkmen SSR	9,437	54.7	54.7
Belorussian SSR	39,856	52.4	59.9
RSFSR	944,521	50.3	58.3
Kirghiz SSR	14,856	49.0	58.2
Armenian SSR	3,418	48.5	40.6
Ukrainian SSR	188,806	47.8	58.6
Latvian SSR	20,291	44.9	68.4
Kazakh SSR	79,287	44.3	58.6
Uzbek SSR	39,722	34.8	47.0
Tajik SSR	9,281	30.8	56.6
Moldavian SSR	27,640	28.8	67.6
Georgian SSR	5,576	18.9	31.6
Azerbaijan SSR	4,988	11.8	33.3
Total for USSR	1,431,360	48.5	58.1

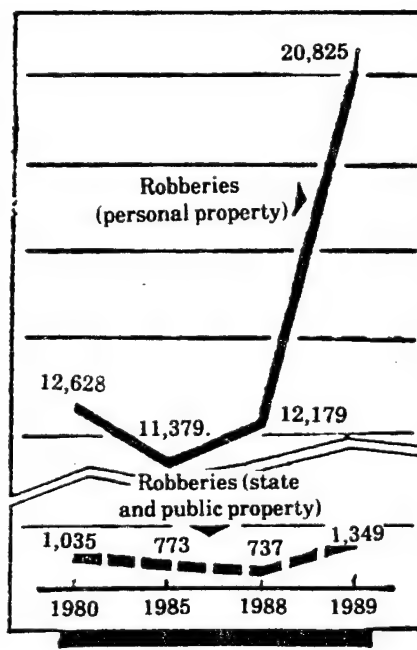
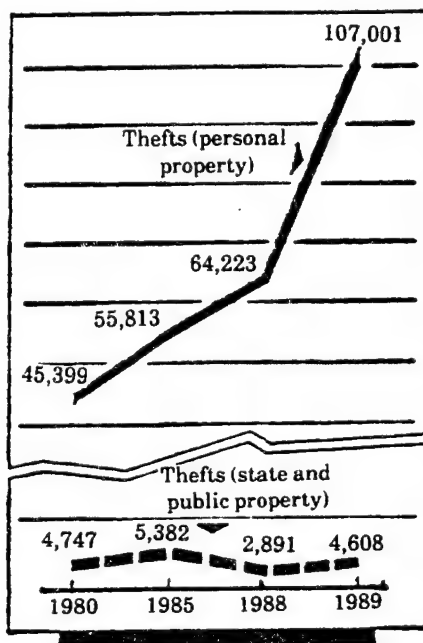
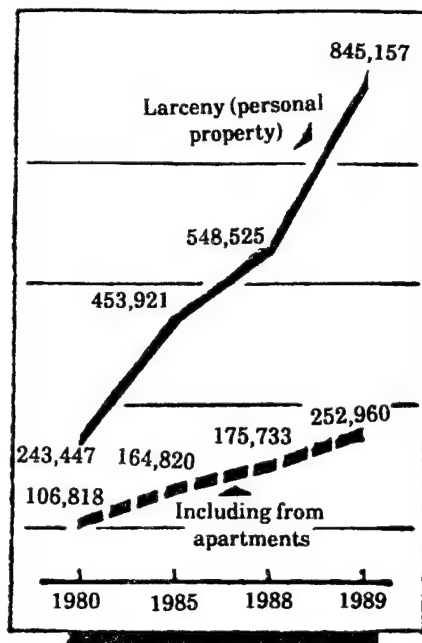
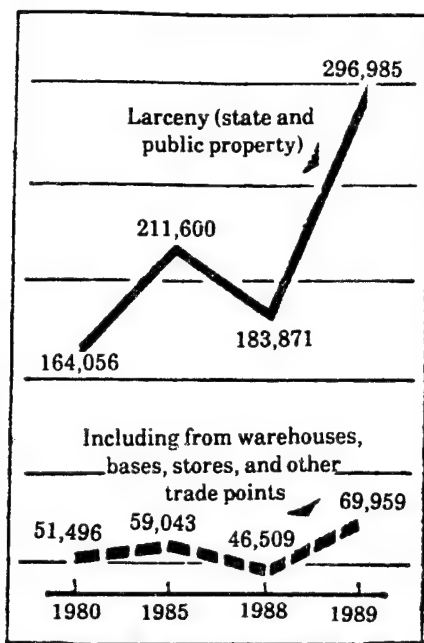
Street Crime

The trend noted in July 1989 toward a decrease in street crime (from 84.3 to 65.8 percent in December) continues. Larceny (citizens' personal property) is predominant in its structure (36.7 percent).

An analysis of crimes involving larceny, parts theft, and car thefts in Moscow, Kharkov, Vladivostok, Chelyabinsk, and Simferopol showed that 85 percent of them were committed in the evening and nighttime hours in the immediate proximity to the victims' residences.

Dynamics and Percentage of Individual Crimes Committed on the Streets, in Squares, in Parks, and in Public Gardens

Crime	Total Recorded	Percentage Increase over 1988	Percentage of Total Number of Street Crimes	Percentage of All Crimes of This Type
Premeditated murder and attempted murder	2,593	48.6	0.8	12.1
Aggravated assault	13,033	60.5	4.1	25.3
Rape and attempted rape	2,525	40.0	0.8	11.5
Theft of state or public property (not counting petty theft)—Including:				
Larceny	6,481	92.7	2.1	2.2
Means of transport	307	162.4	0.1	16.4
Theft	324	117.4	0.1	7.0
Robbery	184	73.6	0.06	13.6
Theft of citizens' personal property—Including:				
Larceny	115,486	77.3	36.7	13.7
Means of transport	25,501	78.2	8.1	21.7
Theft	57,313	76.5	18.2	53.6
Robbery	6,921	81.5	7.2	33.2
Hooliganism	53,450	42.9	17.0	37.6



Crime in Transportation

This type of crime differs qualitatively from general crime. The percentage of grave crimes committed in transportation is 9.5 percent versus 14.9 percent for the country as a whole. Whereas the total number of larcenies involving citizens' personal property in the USSR is

2.8 times greater than the number of larcenies involving state and public property, in transportation, conversely, there were 2.2 times fewer instances of encroachments on personal property recorded than on state and public property. The percentage of the latter is 33.8 percent in transportation.

Type of Crime	1988	1989	Percentage Increase over 1988
Larceny involving state or public property	20,206	32,194	59.3
including rail freight and water and air transport cargo	17,012	28,502	67.5
Larceny involving personal property	11,274	14,749	30.8
including passengers belongings	8,966	12,038	34.3
Theft of personal property	2,160	3,100	3.5
Robberies to seize personal property	402	683	70.1
Premeditated murder and attempted murder	138	190	37.7
Premeditated aggravated assault	265	405	52.8
Rape and attempted rape	197	228	15.7
Hooliganism	3,162	3,178	0.5

A steady increase (+68.5 percent) in thefts of rail freight was noted almost everywhere. There were 27,197 cases recorded last year. Annual shipping losses from shortages, spoilage, and theft are between 40 and 50 million rubles. Militia agencies exposed criminal groups among railroad workers who committed thefts of freight at stations of Riga-Pregu (Baltic Railroad), Chita (Transbaykal Railroad), Aldy and Armavir (North Caucasus Railroad), Batumi, Dzegvi, and Idzhevan (Transcaucasus Railroad), and Shirvan and Vataga (Azerbaijan Railroad).

In the Sphere of the Economy

In 1989, 257,485 crimes were brought to light in the sphere of the economy. Their percentage in the total number of crimes recorded was 10.5 percent. A stepped up struggle against these types of crimes is noted in the eight ministries of internal affairs of the union republics, as well as in the 29 ministries of internal affairs and administrations of internal affairs of the kray and oblast ispolkoms of the RSFSR.

Thefts of state and public property by misappropriation or embezzlement, or by misuse of one's office account for almost one-third of the crimes in the sphere of the economy. Of them, 15.3 percent were uncovered in trade, 7.5 percent in the services sector, and 6.3 percent in construction; 7,235 were committed in large proportions, and 1,079 in especially large proportions. Criminal proceedings were instituted against 13,541 directors of enterprises and 7,062 accounting department workers.

There were 1,214 cases of illegal currency transactions recorded.

Despite changes in the laws, in accordance with which almost one-third of the cases of speculation uncovered were classified as administrative offenses, 45,140 crimes of this type were recorded, that is, practically at the 1988 level. Goods and assets valued at about 9 million rubles were confiscated from speculators. There were 90,991 (+45.6 percent) cases of administratively punishable speculation uncovered.

During the last 3 months of 1989, the struggle against bribery was stepped up. Whereas in November there

were 247 of these crimes recorded, in December there were 326, which was 32.0 percent higher than during the same month the year before.

There were 2,223 cases uncovered of theft of fuels and lubricants; 759 of these thefts were committed at petroleum products production and storage facilities, and 546 at motor transport enterprises. As a result, losses amounted to more than 1 million rubles.

In 1989, in the area of economic relations, agencies of internal affairs prevented more than 31,600 crimes (+1.9 percent) in the preparatory stage or during attempts.

From the Editor

Not all the data given above are indisputable. There is not enough information on the quantitative and qualitative composition of the country's law enforcement agencies themselves. We know from speeches by many leaders of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs that the militia is understaffed by about 50,000 today. The length of service of criminal investigation employees and investigators hardly exceeds 2-3 years. There is a shortage of financial assets, technical equipment, and the most important standardized legal documents.

Just take, for example, the data on the growth rate in the level of crime in some republics that have actively embarked on the path of democratization and in others where the social processes are not moving so swiftly... How can we explain this difference? Is everything in order, taking this into account? Or, once again, for the umpteenth time, are the many problems associated with the stimulation of criminal affairs being resolved secretly?

In general, there are far more questions than there are answers.

We hope that our readers will tell about their conclusions and observations.

USSR Law on Changes in Criminal Trials

90UN1509A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Apr 90 Morning Edition pp 1-2

["USSR Law on Changes and Additions to the Fundamentals of Criminal Legal Procedure of the USSR and Union Republics"]

[Text] In accordance with articles 11, 14, and 15 of the Fundamental Legislation of the USSR on the Legal System, the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics resolves:

To make the following changes and additions to the Fundamentals of Criminal Legal Procedure of the USSR and the union republics established by the USSR Law of 25 December 1958 (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1959, No 1, Article 15; 1970, No 36, Article 362; 1972, No 6, Article 51; and 1981, No 33, Article 966):

1. Change parts two and four of Article 9 to read:

"In the court of first instance, criminal cases are tried by a board consisting of judges and people's assessors in accordance with legislation of the USSR and union republics. In the procedure established by legislation of the union republics for cases on crimes that call for the death penalty or imprisonment for more than 10 years, the question of guilt of the accused may be decided by trial by jury (an expanded board of people's assessors). Legislation of the union republics may also establish other categories of trial by jury (expanded board of people's assessors);

"Examination of a case for the purpose of appeal or supervision is accomplished by a board consisting of at least three judges."

2. Change articles 13, 22, and 23 to read as follows:

"Article 13. Ensuring the Right of a Suspect, Accused, or Defendant to a Defense

"The suspect, accused, or defendant has the right to a defense.

"The person holding the inquest, the investigator, the prosecutor, and court are obliged to ensure the suspect, accused, or defendant the opportunity to be defended by the means and methods prescribed by law and also protection of their personal and property rights;

"Article 22. The Defense Counsel's Participation in the Legal Proceedings

"The defense counsel is permitted to participate in the case from the moment charges are made, and in the case of the detention of an individual suspected of committing a crime or the use of preventive punishment, in the form of taking him into custody until charges are made—from the moment of announcement of the report of arrest or decree on use of this preventive punishment, but not later than 24 hours from the time of arrest. If the

presence of the defense counsel chosen by the suspect or accused is impossible in this time, the person holding the inquest, the investigator, and the prosecutor have the right to suggest to the suspect or accused to call another defense counsel, or they provide him a defense counsel through the legal advice office.

"The participation of defense counsel during holding of the inquest, the preliminary investigation, and during the trial is mandatory for cases involving minors, mutes, the deaf, the blind, and other individuals who are unable to exercise their right to a defense due to their physical or mental deficiencies, and also individuals who do not speak the language in which the legal proceedings are conducted. In these cases, the defense counsel is permitted to participate in the case from the time indicated in part one of this article.

"For cases of individuals accused of capital crimes, participation of the defense counsel is mandatory from the moment charges are brought.

"Mandatory participation of defense counsel in the case can also occur in other instances determined by the legislation of union republics.

"Lawyers and representatives of trade unions and other public organizations are permitted as defense counsel for cases of member of these organizations, as are other individuals granted such a right by legislation of the union republics.

"The head of the legal advice office or the presidium of the collegium of lawyers are obliged to assign a lawyer to defend a suspect, accused, or defendant. The head of the legal advice office or the presidium of the collegium of lawyers, and also the agency holding the inquest, the agency conducting the preliminary investigation, the prosecutor, and the court handling the case, in the procedure specified by legislation of the USSR and the union republics, have the right to exempt a suspect, accused, or defendant completely or partially from payment for legal assistance. In the event of such an exemption by the head of the legal advice office or the presidium of the collegium of lawyers, the defense counsel is paid by funds of the collegium of lawyers, and in other instances—by the state.

"Expenses for remuneration of the lawyers, in the procedure determined by the councils of ministers of the union republics, are applied to the budget also when the lawyer participated in the inquest, preliminary investigation, and in the trial by appointment. A convicted person may be charged with reimbursement of expenses to the state in this case.

"Article 23. Responsibilities and Rights of Defense Counsel

"The defense counsel is obliged to use every means and method of defense indicated in the law to bring to light

circumstances vindicating a suspect, accused, or defendant, mitigating their responsibility, and to provide them the necessary legal assistance.

"From the time he is permitted to participate in the case, the defense counsel has the right: to be present during the bringing of charges; participate in interrogation of the suspect or defendant, and also in other investigative actions involving them; to become familiar with the arrest report, the decree on use of preventive punishment, and, on completion of the inquest or preliminary investigation, with all materials of the case, and to copy down necessary information from it; to participate in the trial; to submit evidence; to file petitions; to enter objections; and to lodge complaints against the actions and decisions of the person holding the inquest, the investigator, the prosecutor, and the court. From the time he is permitted to participate in the case, the defense counsel also has the right, after the first interrogation of the suspect or defendant arrested or in custody, to meet with him privately without restriction as to the number and duration of the meetings.

"The defense counsel present during the investigation has the right to question the interrogating individuals and make written remarks regarding the incorrectness or incompleteness of the entries in the report of investigation.

"Legislation of the union republics may also specify other rights of the defense counsel.

"A lawyer does not have the right to refuse to defend a suspect, accused, or defendant."

President of the USSR
M. Gorbachev
Moscow, the Kremlin, 10 April 1990

Lithuanian KGB Details Attacks on Soldiers

*WA1403204790 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA
in Russian 22 Feb 90 p 4*

[Article from KGB press department: "Report of the KGB of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] On 14 February 1990 RESPUBLIKA informed the public that "on 12 February at approximately 1000 in Alitusskiy Rayon at the intersection of the Grodno-Kaunas and Alitus-Vilnius roads, three shots were fired from a passing VAZ-2106 automobile (the license number is unknown) at a column of foot soldiers. There were no injuries." What was it—an attack, a misunderstanding, a provocation? For now it is hard to say because the people who used the firearm have still not been identified. Unfortunately this is not the only such incident recently in the republic.

For instance, an attack was committed on a guard post for the depots of a military unit stationed in Kalvariya in March 1989. The attacker used a sawed-off hunting rifle and a grenade and he attempted to steal a firearm.

In August in the same place shots were fired from a speeding passenger vehicle at a group of foot soldiers returning from the small town.

On the 19th of that month at approximately 2330 two shots were fired from a "Zhiguli" automobile containing four men near the depot of a military unit situated in the outskirts of Panevezhis.

In September 1989 at midnight, a group of somewhat intoxicated young men threw stones at the sentry of a military unit in Ukmerge.

There has been an increase in the number of gratuitous insults directed at servicemen and members of their families.

Psychological tension in the military units has appeared because of such actions directed against servicemen. There have been instances where shots were answered with shots. Fortunately, there have not yet been any victims or casualties.

The republic's KGB has received information about recurring instances of violent conflict near military facilities. There has been an increase in the number of attempts by civilians, often intoxicated, to penetrate onto the grounds of military units.

The Committee of the Lithuanian SSR together with the leadership of military units, organs of internal affairs, and the republic's procuracy is investigating the circumstances, causes, and goals of such occurrences. Criminal and administrative proceedings have been instituted against several guilty persons.

Unrest gives rise to the desire and efforts of some citizens of our republic to illegally obtain firearms. With the assistance of the KGB, the organs of the MVD confiscated more than 500 assorted firearms in just the last year.

In connection with the complicated political situation in the republic, provocations against servicemen may be punished severely.

We believe that the mass media and social organizations and movements as well as the citizens of the republic should condemn such actions and those who carry them out.

We appeal to the republic's inhabitants to keep irresponsible persons from rash actions and to inform the law

enforcement organs of imminent negative situations or criminal activities against servicemen performing their service in Lithuania and military facilities.

Inform us at telephone number 62-27-30.

Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry Reviews Republic's 1989 Crime Figures

90US0585A Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
4 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Armenian SSR MVD Collegium"]

[Text] An expanded session of the Armenian SSR MVD Collegium, in which the chiefs of city and rayon internal affairs agencies and their deputies for political affairs participated and during which the results of law enforcement activity during 1989 were summed up, has been held.

The report by the republic's minister of internal affairs and the speeches pointed out that the agencies for protecting law and order had to work under difficult social and political conditions caused by interethnic tensions; the repeated blockade of Armenia and Nagornyy Karabakh; and the events in the Khanlarskiy and Shaumyanovskiy rayons of Azerbaijan, the cities of Gandzhe and Baku and the rayons of Armenia bordering on the Azerbaijan SSR.

A great deal of effort was concentrated in the area of the natural disaster in order to insure the elimination of the destructive earthquake's consequences.

Under these difficult conditions, MVD agencies performed a great deal of preventive work to avert transgressions of the law and carried out a series of measures of an operational nature, which were directed toward the timely discovery of crimes committed. Along with this and in coordination with subunits of the USSR MVD internal troops, the employees of the internal affairs agencies were active in measures to insure the security of the population in the rayons bordering on Azerbaijan.

It was pointed out that the above-mentioned situation along with the omissions in organizing operational and service activity had a negative impact on the final results of the struggle against crime.

For all service lines, crime increased by 33.0 percent, including criminal investigation by 44.5 percent.

A considerable increase in the number of registered serious crimes, including premeditated murder and attempts, assault, theft, and robbery, was noted last year. The increase in the number of infringements on property is causing special concern. More crimes were committed by persons in a state of alcoholic intoxication, those having previous convictions, or those avoiding socially useful work. An increase in the number of transgressions by juveniles has been noted for the first time during

recent years. Motor vehicle accidents on the roads have become markedly more frequent and the burden of their consequences has grown.

As a whole, all of the enumerated problems are also characteristic of the earthquake area, where almost a third of the crimes registered in the republic have occurred.

Nevertheless, the measures adopted have managed to reduce the rate of increase in crimes in the disaster area considerably.

Sharp criticism in connection with the low level of professional preparation and operational training of a number of employees and with the insufficient coordination of the militia services with each other and also with public forces, rang out during the meeting. The main reason for the unsatisfactory results of preventive measures and the work to expose committed crimes lie here.

The session paid special attention to the January events connected with the aggravation of the situation in Azerbaijan, which caused an outburst of indignation among Armenia's population where numerous cases of thefts of weapons, ammunition, explosives, and equipment followed.

The instances of attacks on militia subunits, VOKhR [the republic's internal security troops], DOSAAF installations, and training establishments to seize weapons, are causing serious alarm. As the events of recent days have shown, part of the stolen weapons have fallen into the criminal element's hands. This has complicated the operational situation even more and has created conditions for an increase in the number of serious criminal manifestations.

The collegium's session devoted a great deal of attention to the state of affairs in the border rayons. It was pointed out that the situation is being normalized here and that the population's reliable protection is being organized after the introduction of Soviet Army subunits, internal troops and the attached forces of internal affairs agencies.

The Armenian SSR MVD Collegium pointed out that the voluntary turning in of stolen weapons is continuing as a result of explanatory work among the population; however, these rates are not satisfactory today. Measures to intensify this process and remove weapons very rapidly and ways to improve operational and service work were also planned.

Responsible workers from the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's Council of Ministers and the USSR MVD participated in the collegium's work.

Uzbek Procurators Express Alarm Over Republic's Growing Crime Problem

90US0585B Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
28 Jan 90 p 3

[UzTAG report: "Against Crime—the Weapon of Law"]

[Text] During an expanded session of the Uzbek SSR Procuracy Collegium, last year's work results were summed up and the tasks of the republic's procuracy agencies, which flow from the decisions of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies and from the program documents of the party and government, were discussed. Besides the collegium members, leading officials in the departments; procurators from the oblasts and the city of Tashkent; and the directors of other law enforcement agencies, the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court, the republic's association of lawyers, educational institutions, and scientific judicial establishments participated in the session.

The report by D. A. Usatov, the Uzbek SSR procurator, and the speeches gave a detailed and critical analysis of the situation now taking shape in the republic, the reasons giving birth to crime, and the status of and measures for strengthening the struggle against it. During this, special attention was paid to organized crime as the most dangerous form of illegal and antisocial activity committed by those who do not object to warming their hands over the difficulties, which the country is undergoing during restructuring, becoming rich on the common misfortunes and shortages, and enriching themselves illegally at the expense of honest people.

It was pointed out that the trend toward an increase in the organized nature and professionalization of crime in the republic did not appear today or yesterday. It was observed even before the pre-restructuring years and is a direct consequence of the difficulties in social and economic development, the devaluation of moral and spiritual values, and the weakening of public discipline and responsibility. These negative tendencies are not characteristic only of Uzbekistan; they are part of the processes common to the entire country. It was no accident that the question was discussed so sharply during the recent congress of Soviet parliamentarians. In accordance with the decision that was adopted by the people's deputies, an all-union program is now being developed to strengthen the struggle against crime, including against its organized forms.

Our republic is also drawing up a similar program. The session emphasized the urgency of its development and the need for very rapid implementation of the most decisive law enforcement measures. The situation, which has taken shape in Uzbekistan, testifies ever more clearly about the presence here of an actively functioning criminal mechanism composed of criminal clans with a complex internal hierarchy, for whom the "shadow" economy is the material basis of its existence.

According to available operational data, up to 30 of these criminal clans exist on the republic's territory today. Each of them combines several organized criminal groups. The largest of them operate in Tashkent, Tashkent Oblast, Fergana Valley, Samarkand, and Bukhara. Last year, internal affairs agencies discovered more than 1,500 criminal groups and other formations that united more than 5,000 executors and were headed by professional "thieves in the law" and different types of criminal "authorities." The session talked with alarm about the growing spread of racketeering in the republic—extortion which under today's conditions is one of the most dangerous of the organized forms.

True, the republic has already accumulated certain experience in counteracting this criminal evil, thanks mainly to the help which the state security agencies have now begun to provide. At the same time, the session pointed out, the general situation in the struggle against organized crime in Uzbekistan does not provide even the slightest reason for self-complacency. Serious charges and critical comments were addressed to oblast and city procurators and the directors of law enforcement services who have underestimated the danger of organized crime or who try to combat it using formal and outdated methods. Throughout the republic, procurator agencies must insure an accurate and effective program that is interrelated with law enforcement subunits, discover and suppress criminal formations and exercise effective supervision over the investigation of crimes, achieving a rapid and qualitative trial of each of these cases in full accordance with the law's requirements that the USSR Congress of People's Deputies has established.

The session discussed just as sharply ways to strengthen the struggle against repeated commissions of offenses and the increase in transgressions among minors. The speakers emphasized that it is in this area that the criminal formations are deriving reserves. According to the data that was cited, every fifth person among the participants in the groupings that were discovered last year, had been previously convicted. As experience shows, it is extremely difficult, at times, for persons, who have served their sentence, to return to a normal life: A lack of trust and unjustified limitations deprive them, at times, of an opportunity to obtain work and put their life in order. Local soviets, their ispolkoms and permanent commissions frequently only engage in these questions in a formal manner. The results of a study of specific criminal cases shows, it was said during the session, that persons, who had been previously convicted and served their sentence, sometimes are compelled to enter the service of the mafia or themselves become organizers of criminal groups.

In general, repeated crime grew by 31.3 percent last year in the republic when compared to the previous year. Its growth was especially noticeable in Samarkand, Fergana, Surkhan-Darya, and Tashkent oblasts; Kara-Kalpak ASSR; and the city of Tashkent. It was recommended that the procurators in these oblasts, Kara-Kalpakia and

Tashkent specifically investigate the operational situation in their regions, carefully study the conditions and reasons that are giving birth to "recurrent" crime, and develop and take measures to eradicate this evil. The collegium emphasized the task of procuracy agencies to exercise strict supervision over the implementation of laws aimed at regulating the adaptation of citizens, who have been released from places of incarceration, and to comply very strictly with the statute on administrative supervision by internal affairs agencies.

It was pointed out during the course of the discussion, that the increase in crime among juveniles is causing the greatest concern. Last year, it reached 18.7 percent for the republic. The situation in Khorezm, Samarkand and Tashkent oblasts is especially unfavorable. Here, the number of crimes committed by children and juveniles increased by more than 1.5-fold during the year; their number in Bukhara oblast, Kara-Kalpak ASSR and Tashkent noticeably grew. We are not talking about harmless pranks. Serious crimes: premeditated murder, robbery, theft, and the stealing of state and the personal property of citizens, were committed by minors or with their participation.

The speakers said that these criminal manifestations testify to the weakness or complete absence of indoctrinational work among children and juveniles where they live and study. It was pointed out that the most effective method in the struggle against crime among juveniles is prevention. It is necessary to begin legal work among them not after a crime has been committed but before the matter has come to this: The purposeful instilling in children of respect for the law, public morals and moral standards must be carried out, beginning in kindergarten and during the first school steps. Unfortunately, a great deal of formalism and disinterest is still manifesting itself in this matter. Procurator agency workers sometimes do not realize their power and do not protect the rights and guarantees which the law grants juveniles—the discussion participants pointed out.

The collegium also examined a number of other aspects connected with improving the work to observe legislation and law and order in all areas, improving procurator supervision, and raising the effectiveness of procurator agency work in every way possible under restructuring conditions and the real changes that are occurring in the republic's political, economic and social life.

L. P. Baranov, a USSR Procuracy administration chief, spoke during the session.

Uzbek Procurator on Crime, Corruption, Cotton Scandals

90US0737A Tashkent KOMSOMOLETS
UZBEKISTANA in Russian 3 Mar 90 p 2

[Interview with Uzbek SSR Procurator Dmitriy Aleksandrovich Usatov by Sakhobiddin Sirazhiddinov, manager of the complaint, letter, and mass work department of

the editorial board of the newspaper YESH LENINCHI: "In the Name of the Law"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Every morning, while familiarizing yourself with a heap of complaints, you sometimes come across such words: "my son's murderer has not been found," "my home was burglarized," or "I was illegally brought up on criminal charges"... As a rule, these letters end with the questions, "Is there justice in the world?" and "In whose hands is the law?"

Certain readers are interested in what measures are being taken against racketeers, and how the controversial "cotton" cases ended. One also encounters letters in which highly qualified lawyers complain that they cannot find work.

The readers' interest in the legal topic is understandable, especially now, against the background of the growth of organized crime. Uzbek SSR Procurator Dmitriy Aleksandrovich Usatov touched upon these and many other issues in his conversation with Sakhobiddin Sirazhiddinov, manager of the complaint, letter, and mass work department of the editorial board of the newspaper YESH LENINCHI.

[Correspondent] Dmitriy Aleksandrovich! At both the 1st and the 2nd USSR Congresses of People's Deputies, there was talk of improving the methods of combatting organized crime. This phenomenon provokes the workers' strong anxiety. What measures are being taken here in the republic in connection with this?

[Usatov] Uzbekistan's workers' anxiety and indignation over the tense operational situation, the outbursts of crime, and especially over organized crime, which has been given substantial dispersion in recent years, is completely justified. Growth has been noted in the criminals' aggression and cruelty, and in their use of firearms and non-discharging weapons, torture, and resistance to law enforcement forces.

Crime is a profoundly social phenomenon which is turning all the more into a real factor seriously influencing the destabilization of the sociopolitical life of the country and all its regions. I am therefore convinced that today, all of us without exception recognize urgency of the intensification of the fight against crime, especially its most dangerous organized forms. Precisely this is evidenced by the circumstance that the given issue became the subject of consideration by the 2nd USSR Congress of People's Deputies, as well as the decisive involvement in these problems of the possibilities of the Committee for State Security, and the creation of temporary committees for fighting crime, and granting internal affairs organs extraordinary powers, etc.

The republic law and order organs are also taking definite measures to intensify the fight against crime on the whole as well as against its organized manifestations. In the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], the Tashkent gorispolkom UVD [Administration of Internal Affairs], and oblispolkoms special subdivisions have been created

to combat organized crime. In my view, these subdivisions are understaffed and under-equipped with technology. However, they already have a lot to recommend for themselves even under these conditions.

Over the last 3 years, the program being conducted has made it possible to neutralize over 20 bandit formations in the republic, and halt the activity of over 800 organized criminal groups which have perpetrated 7,250 crimes, including many serious crimes. In the past year alone, 140 organized criminal groups, comprising 800 criminals, were neutralized. A substantial amount of firearms and non-discharging weapons, 50 kilograms of narcotics, and 42 machine guns used in the commission of crimes were confiscated from them.

Recently, organized crime is more clearly finding itself a base in the sphere of the economy, particularly in the shadow economy. It is, in the full meaning of the word, living as a parasite on our economic and social disorders, exploiting the social stratification among the population taking place in the country today, accumulating major amounts of money in some hands, and allowing the "laundering" of money obtained by criminal means through cooperatives, leasing, etc. Our results are somewhat more modest in the work of disclosing such groups and dealers of the shadow economy. We have to learn as we go. Nonetheless, number of shop workers have been arrested; several groups of racketeers have been revealed. We give the appropriate information about this via television and the press. Unfortunately, our side is not without its victims, either.

We will continually intensify our work in this direction. Today, at the initiative of the republic Procuracy, comprehensive programs for fighting crime are being introduced in all oblasts, cities, and rayons; they have been developed by us in conjunction with the All-Union Scientific Research Institute on the problems of legality and law and order, and the Tashkent party obkom.

The place and role of party, soviet, law enforcement, and monitoring organs, public organizations and formations, and labor collectives in issues of an organized fight against crime has been determined. They are relying primarily upon prevention of violations, since every recidivist or organizer of a criminal group began at one point with insignificant violations. Therefore, task number one in all of our work is to prevent, to not allow the criminal psychology to develop. Here, the Komsomol can and must assist tremendously and make a genuine contribution.

[Correspondent] The investigation of the so-called "cotton" cases was conducted for 5 years; what were the results? How many people were brought up on criminal charges? Judging by rumors, this was 35,000, wasn't it?

[Usatov] Recently, in various publications and halls, including that of the Congress of People's Deputies, there has been an exaggeration of the idea that the investigation of the "cotton" cases in the republic is some sort of mass lawlessness, arbitrariness, a reprisal on

the part of the law enforcement organs against people, among them ordinary peasants, guilty of nothing. Fantastic figures for those arrested and convicted in these cases are named—20,000, 30,000, 50,000, and so on.

In any case, these assertions are absolutely groundless. The investigators of the Procuracy and republic internal affairs organs completed the investigation and sent to court 766 criminal cases begun in 1984, connected with embezzlement, padding, bribery, and other abuses in cotton cultivation and processing. In these cases, 4,360 people were brought up on criminal charges and turned over to the courts. The material damage inflicted upon the state by the accused in these cases was R450 million. There is no need to talk about lawlessness, since not a single person was vindicated in these cases. In effect, all the cases were studied in the UzSSR Supreme Court, by staffers of the USSR Procuracy, the USSR Supreme Court, and the USSR Ministry of Justice, and not a single case of imposition of unlawful criminal charges was established.

Nor does the assertion of mass charges against ordinary peasants correspond to reality. Judge for yourself. Among the 4,360 people named in cases that were sent to court by the investigative organs, there were 36 party and soviet organ leaders; 485 sovkhos directors and kolkhoz chairmen; 240 directors of cotton mills and managers of cotton points; 654 chief and senior bookkeepers; 256 chief specialists; 686 classifiers, and 407 cashiers. Other officials were brought up on criminal charges only in the event of personal acquisition of large sums of money.

The authors of the publications and speeches are distorting the very principle of the investigative organs' approach to resolving issues of bringing criminal charges against guilty parties, for however paradoxical it may sound, humanism was shown in this category of cases.

First and foremost, the investigation proceeded from the position that these crimes were committed under psychological pressure and even physical force on the part of party and soviet leaders (and the readers must know that there were committed serious crimes linked with massive padding the raw cotton figures, massive embezzlement of funds, massive offering and receiving bribes, which, according to law, stipulate from 10-15 years' imprisonment, and the deprivation of the right to hold certain positions, or an exceptional measure of punishment—to be shot).

The investigation also proceeded from the position that the peasants, echelon workers, brigadiers, and other rank-and-file executors of the leaders' criminal will must not bear criminal responsibility for these actions. This principle was strictly adhered to. Therefore, criminal prosecution regarding 13,614 such executors was halted during the investigative phase without presentation of charges. Nor did the citizens acknowledge their guilt in all cases. All decisions to cease such cases were recognized as lawful, and no one has rescinded them.

At the same time, starting in 1986, in connection with the receipt by various departments of an enormous volume of letters from relatives of the convicted, and the citizens' mass appeal for appointments with the party and soviet organs it became obvious that violations of the principle of social justice in court practice were being allowed.

Those individuals brought up on criminal charges were handed long prison sentences based upon one formal aspect: the gravity of what they had perpetrated.

As the Uzbek CP administrative organs department head at that time, I studied these issues in detail, travelling to Kashka-Darya Oblast, where I visited many farms, met with many rural toilers, the relatives of those convicted, went to their homes, and saw the unbearable conditions these people had been in. The conclusion on distortions in the court practice were completely confirmed. In particular, it became quite clear that in the overwhelming majority of cases, the courts set identical punitive measures regarding those who fulfilled the leaders' evil will, without getting a cent for themselves, and those who lined their pocket with hefty sums of money. Many cases required reexamination for the sake of restoring fairness.

This issue was raised before the CPSU Central Committee, and a commission arrived in the republic headed by the deputies of the USSR procurator general, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, and the USSR minister of justice, which agreed with our proposal after having studied many cases. The appropriate order was issued in the provinces.

As a result of the radical change in the approach to resolving this category of case, in 1986 alone the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court department of cassation reduced the sentences of 1,074 convicts. In the following 2 years, when the flood of such cases into the republic Supreme Court had been reduced, the punishment of 790 more people was reduced. Moreover, the cases in which at the beginning of their consideration in 1986 the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court had already handed down excessively harsh sentences were reconsidered by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's commission on clemency, in which 675 people received clemency. Many of those convicted were released under guard, returned home, or sent for national economic construction work upon reexamination of the cases in the UzSSR Supreme Court and the commission on clemency.

Even last year, in connection with the citizens' continuing appeals for clemency in cotton cases. At the initiative of Uzbek CP Central Committee First Secretary Comrade I.A. Karimov, a special commission was created under the UzSSR Supreme Soviet comprising republic Supreme Court, Procuracy, and Ministry of Justice staffers, which continued the work of reexamining the "cotton" cases. It considered it possible to present for clemency another 431 convicts; of these, about 300 have already received clemency.

At present, investigation of a number of such criminal cases stemming from 1987-1988 has been completed. Proceedings in the majority of them were halted on various grounds. No cases in the given category were stimulated last year.

It seems to me that the readers must know that those "cotton" cases of which I spoke earlier have nothing to do with the cases pursued by the investigation group headed by T.Kh. Gdlyan, in which massive violations of legality were permitted, according to an interview given to the newspaper SELSKAYA PRAVDA by USSR Congress of People's Deputies commission members.

And the readers must have a clear idea of one more circumstance.

As a result of the examination of the so-called "cotton" cases, the people of Uzbekistan were indeed enormously traumatized in the spiritual and moral sense. A great number of honest, industrious old men, women, and children guilty of nothing suffered, since each person held criminally accountable has a family, children, grandchildren, relatives. It is difficult to assess their suffering. This had to be seen personally, felt directly, in one's own heart.

Yet it would be amoral to accuse the law enforcement organs of this, since they were only guarding the law, which was trampled and flouted in those years. The truly guilty parties are the previous, irresponsible republic party and soviet leaders who plunged the fine people of Uzbekistan into this abyss of lawlessness and arbitrary rule, and condemned it to untold suffering.

[Correspondent] Much has been written in the press recently about incidents of people being held criminally accountable unlawfully. Many do not know whether Gaydanov, Didorenko, and Teplov have answered for this.

[Usatov] Comrade O.I. Gaydanov, former republic deputy procurator, was discussed twice at sessions of the USSR Procuracy collegium, where disciplinary punishment was imposed upon him for violating the law in issuing arrest warrants during the course of the investigations of cases, as has been reported in our republic press on more than one occasion. The republic procuracy also imposed this sentence upon him for these acts. For some 8 months now, he has been transferred to work in Kazakhstan, where he is being utilized with a demotion. The USSR Procuracy, having twice studied these issues, with a visit to the republic, feels that sufficient measures have been taken regarding comrade O.I. Gaydan, which the Procuracy has reported many times in the CPSU Party Control Commission and to newspaper editors and individual USSR Supreme Soviet deputies. I sent the copy of the newspaper SELSKAYA PRAVDA with the publication of "Going Unpunished" to the USSR Procuracy, since the author requests an explanation specifically from this department.

I do not know what measures have been taking regarding comrades E.A. Didorenko and A.P. Teplov other than that they were given a harsh evaluation at a session of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro, and are being utilized with demotions.

[Correspondent] How many people had criminal charges held against them for padding, and were then later rehabilitated?

[Usatov] According to Ministry of Justice data and materials from the procuracy supervision, over the past 2 1/2 years, of the total number of those in the republic brought up on criminal charges for padding and other distortions in accounting, 3 people were vindicated on sentences legally effective in 1988, all in Samarkand Oblast; and in the first 6 months of 1989, 2 in Bukhara Oblast.

No justifying sentences under UzSSR Criminal Code Article 149.1 were handed down in 1987.

[Correspondent] what is being done to intensify procuracy supervision in the matter of eradicating unlawful arrests?

All practical organizational measures taken by the Uzbek SSR Procuracy in recent years to intensify the fight against crime and to improve the activity of the investigative apparatus stem from the fundamental requirement for the strictest observance of socialist legality.

The republic Procuracy directs subordinate procurators at the comprehensive protection of the rights and legal interests of all citizens in the investigation and inquest proceedings, particularly for the application of arrest as a means of deterrence, and the extension of terms of detention under guard.

For 2 years now, in accordance with the instruction of the republic procurator, an arrest warrant can be issued only after a mandatory personal interrogation of the accused by the procurator preceding the authorization of the arrest and a study of the case materials. An extension of the term of being under guard is implemented only after a study of the case materials, and in cases where necessary, with a hearing at direct sessions. Copies of decrees on warranting arrests by city and rayon procurators are sent to the investigative subdivisions of the oblast procuracies, where they are studied for the object of the grounds of the arrest, and are then utilized for control over the observance of the term of detaining the accused under guard.

This, along with the general tendency toward the humanization of Soviet legislation, led to a significant reduction in the number of warrants, as well as the practical elimination of previous violations held on these issues. While in 1985, procurators issued warrants for detention under guard as a deterrent measure for 17,399 people, in 1986, 12,308 were issued; in 1987, 6,729; in 1988, 5,725, and in the first half of 1989, 3,300.

At the same time, harsh reaction measures are being taken regarding procurators who have groundlessly refused warrants for the arrest of individuals who have committed serious crimes. The justice departments have organized in all oblasts, in conjunction with the UVDs, groups to verify the legality of citizens' being kept in investigation isolation cells; the groups indicated systematically verify and monitor these issues in the provinces.

We are aspiring in recent years to principally react to the violations of legality permitted. Official verifications, with the discussion of the results at collegium sessions are conducted for all incidents discovered, and harsh measures are taken regarding the guilty parties, even up to releasing them from their positions or firing them from the Procuracy organs, and holding them to party accountability.

In addition to this, we are doing everything for the full rehabilitation of individuals groundlessly brought up on criminal charges. The republic Procuracy has made a special study of the practice of applying the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase "On the compensation of damage caused to a citizen by the illegal actions of state and public organizations, as well as by officials in the line of the execution of their responsibilities." The procurators aim at adopting exhaustive measures to compensate material damage and restore to work individuals groundlessly fired in connection with having criminal charges brought against them and being incarcerated under guard. All this has allowed a noticeable improvement in the situation of observing legality in criminal court proceedings.

[Correspondent] We know that the positions of the dishonest law enforcement officials who have left have been filled by young cadres. Are they justifying the trust placed in them?

[Usatov] A most important condition of perestroyka is the qualitatively new attitude toward cadre selection, and their indoctrination in the spirit of respect for the law. Only competent, principled people with a firm political and moral position and a heightened sense of justice are capable of resolving the tasks set by the party. It is necessary to constantly teach people in practice, to help and believe them in all ways, and to create conditions for professional growth. At the same time, we must not forget about increasing professional responsibility.

In reviewing the cadre policy as the basis of perestroyka, the republic Procuracy is adopting organizational and practical measures to increase the responsibility of procurators and investigators for the matter entrusted to them. It is first and foremost necessary to decisively remove unscrupulous, incompetent staffers. In the past 5 years alone, the body of operations staffers was renewed by 80 percent; 95 percent of rayon and city procurators of oblasts are working their first constitutional term; one out of every three investigators has been replaced by a young specialist.

Considering the significant replacement of procurators and investigators by young cadres with insufficient experience, the need to implement well-planned programs of cadre indoctrination and raising professional mastery calculated for the long term has become urgent.

In 1989, our Procuracy was the first among the republics to prepare a comprehensive program called "Cadres." This is a fundamental document of the organization of cadre work of all echelons of the republic Procuracy organs, containing the requirements made of us by the party organs and the General Procurator of the Union of SSRs. In this program, the main emphasis is upon the formation of strong cadres from among the local nationality. The first responses and opinions give a basis to assume that the program will yield its positive result, especially in the provinces.

The republic Procuracy has noticeably activated work with young specialists. The opportunities, demands, and shortcomings in their formation are being studied; sociological research is being conducted, etc. The Statute of the council of young specialists of the Procuracy organs has been developed, as well as the Statute and conditions of competition for the title, "Best specialist of the year." This work will promote the activation of sociopolitical and labor activity of young specialists.

In the procuracies of the Karakalpak ASSR and Tashkent city, as an experiment, disciplinary commissions, as well as a procuracy honor court have been created for the purpose of seeking new forms of work with cadres, their indoctrination, and to work out elements of self-management. They are geared toward increasing the initiative of the collective in the indoctrination of moral qualities, principles, and implacability toward violations of socialist legality among Procuracy staffers.

Taking into consideration the significance and topical nature of the indoctrination of young specialists in the spirit of modern requirements, in June of last year, at the initiative of the republic Procuracy in Tashkent, together with the Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee, the scientific practicum conference "Topical issues of increasing sociopolitical and labor activity of young specialists in the resolution of the tasks faced by the Procuracy organs" was held. Participants were representatives of the cadre administration and educational institutions of the USSR Procuracy, the Sverdlovsk Law Institute, the Law Faculty of TashGU [Tashkent State University], the Kazakh SSR Procuracy, and other law enforcement organs. The conference worked out the fundamental trends of the joint activity of the Komsomol workers and the Procuracy organs for strengthening socialist legality and law and order in the republic. A council of young specialists of the republic Procuracy was also elected; it comprises 15 people. The purpose of its creation is to increase the sociopolitical and labor activity of young specialists, to promote their cultural and professional growth, to accelerate the pace of the introduction of advanced experience and the scientific organization of labor.

Recently, the role of the certification commissions in cadre indoctrination, and the improvement of their professional training has been heightened. The certification of all operations staffers in the republic was conducted last year; many were recommended for independent work as city-rayon procurators, deputies, and oblast procurators.

At the order of the USSR General Procuracy 12, and the order of the republic Procuracy, 43 procuracy-investigative staffers have been given incentives for exemplary execution of official duties, initiative, and mastery.

[Correspondent] Dmitriy Aleksandrovich, Tashkent University graduates about 200 young lawyers annually. We know that almost 70 percent of the graduates are not provided with work in their specialty. At the same time, there are in the law enforcement organs, including the republic Procuracy, more than a few specialists "from outside." How would you comment upon such a situation?

[Usatov] It seems to me that this is a temporary phenomenon which came about in the course of the mass cleansing of the law enforcement organs after the 16th Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, and the adoption of the well-known CPSU Central Committee Politburo resolution on the cadre issues associated with our republic.

Since in 1986, the Uzbek Procuracy organs have been getting up to 15 young specialists, graduates of Kharkov, Sverdlovsk, and Saratov Law Institutes, and 5-6 graduates of Tashkent University. At the same time, according to some assessments, the quality of the lawyers' training TashGU was not high enough, and in a number of cases, its graduates did not meet the requirements expressed.

Today, there are working in the republic Procuracy organs approximately 50 graduates of the Kharkov, Saratov, and Sverdlovsk institutes, comprising slightly over 3 percent of the entire number of operations workers. The majority of them are conscientious toilers.

Many are given labor incentives.

One extremely significant circumstance should be noted. From the earliest days of work in the Uzbek CP Central Committee we emphasized the formation of local nationality cadres. For this reason, we immediately, and later, in accordance with the USSR General Procuracy and USSR Ministry of Higher Education order of 22 June 1987 began, in an integrated procedure, to carefully select and send for study in Kharkov and Sverdlovsk the best fellows of indigenous nationality. We have established particularly close ties with the Kharkov Law Institute, one of the strongest in the country, at which today are studying 50 students we have sent there; 15 of these will return this year as specialists with diplomas.

Moreover, in accordance with the practice of cadre exchange that has existed in recent years, a portion of the graduates of the TashGU law faculty is sent to work in the organs of the Procuracy of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and Belorussia. After working there for 3 years, and gaining experience in procurator-investigative activity, they have the guaranteed right to return to work in the Uzbek Procuracy organs.

The selection of young specialists from among the higher educational institutions for the law for the republic Procuracy organs begins annually, long before their state distribution. For this purpose, cadre apparatus staffers travel to the provinces, study the students' personal and professional qualities, their political maturity, and their legal preparation, and select the most worthy ones. Upon their August arrival, having placed themselves at the disposal of the republic Procuracy, the young specialists set out to the oblast procuracies, where for the course of one year they are appointed to the position of intern in order to acquire practical skills in a special program under the control of the leader and a mentor.

As the republic procurator, by order of the USSR General Procuracy, I am permitted to reduce the internship of young specialists. Therefore, in the event that the young staffer fulfills the established program within a short period, most importantly, on a high-quality level, and acquires the practical skills enabling him to independently execute his official duties, the issue of certifying him for independent work and conferring the primary class ranking, that of junior lawyer, is resolved.

It should also be noted that until recently, we were forbidden to take into the Procuracy organs individuals without completed higher education in the law, and now the general procurator has permitted us to take, in individual cases, students in their final year for immediate work. As republic procurator, I have this right...

[Correspondent] Dmitriy Aleksandrovich, the readers are interested in knowing how one becomes the republic procurator. To what extent is your path in life associated with jurisprudence?

[Usatov] I was born in 1937. After high school graduation, I studied in the law faculty of Leningrad State University. I began my labor activity as an intern in 1959, and then worked as a senior investigator in the Kovel inter-rayon procuracy for the Western Ukraine. I was procurator for the investigative department, a criminologist-procurator, and a senior investigator for the oblast procuracy. I was sent for party work in 1967, and after completing the correspondence division of the CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School, I became an instructor, then a party commission member, and deputy department manager of Ukrainian CP Central Committee. Starting in 1986, I worked as the administrative organs department manager in the Uzbek CP Central Committee, and for the past 2 years, as our republic's procurator. My wife is a medical worker. I have two children and a grandson. My father fought in

the Great Patriotic War; he volunteered for the front. As you can see, I am closely linked with jurisprudence. I am convinced that any law faculty graduate can become republic procurator.

[Correspondent] The republic Procuracy greatly assists the mass information media in checking out complaints it receives. As a rule, all issues are resolved according to the law...

[Usatov] We are happy about any fruitful cooperation in this work with the press organs. The principle of objectivity in the resolution of all the issues contained in citizens' letters and complaints is growing stronger and stronger. In every individual case, we are attempting to carefully understand all the petitioners' arguments, to maximize satisfaction of their lawful demands, and to eliminate any violations of legality.

Your newspapers particularly express the opinion of the youth milieu, and I assure you that the Procuracy organs are not indifferent to this. We understand full well what an enormous force youth represents at all stages of our society's development, especially now, at the breakthrough moment of perestroika. Therefore the strengthening, the expansion of glasnost, and creative cooperation with journalists is one of the tasks in solving the problem of strengthening legality, law and order, discipline, organization, the defense of citizens' rights and legal interest, and the recovery of our society's moral atmosphere.

[Correspondent] And the final question. Dmitriy Aleksandrovich, if you were a journalist, what would be your preferred topic?

[Usatov] The ecology. I would write about nature, its beauty, its wealth. Everything can be corrected, even a broken human fate. The damage done to nature cannot be corrected. We must leave our descendants not only improved legislation, but a clean and wonderful world surrounding them.

[Correspondent] Thank you for this frank discussion! MN/WHITE/aw 25/1958z apr

Ukrainian SSR MVD Official on Restitution to Crime Victims

90UN0648A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
7 Dec 89 p 3

[Article by A. Chistyakov, Ukrainian SSR deputy minister of internal affairs, under the rubric "We Are Building a Law-Governed State": "To Protect the Victim—This is not only to find and neutralize the criminal, but also to compensate the crime victim for losses that have been caused"]

[Text] An apartment has been robbed, a car stolen. Who repays the damage that has been inflicted. It takes people years to get compensation for the value of what has been stolen. In this connection, at the present time, when the

foundations for a law-governed state are being laid and when guarantees of the rights of man are being established, the problem of ensuring that the person of the victim occupies a special place within the law is becoming a primary one.

At the present time, however, it is those who have committed crimes that are in the more favorable position. They receive their dishonest earnings immediately. And I find somewhat strange the heightened attention of the mass information media to murderers, rapists, robbers, racketeers, thieves, and swindlers, to their spiritual experiences and their discomforts in places of confinement. And indeed, many of these "innocent" sufferers are killers of old women and rapists of adolescent girls who have mocked the bodies of their victims. For some of them, murder, robbery, and theft have already become a profession.

And here, it seems to me, it is necessary to put everything in its place. Indeed, what is needed, first of all, is an urgent solution to questions connected with protecting the interests of those who have suffered from larceny, robbery, and theft. For decades, according to existing law, it is the person who has experienced such crimes that suffers both morally and materially. The picture is a familiar one—a theft is committed, the criminal has not been arrested, and the things have not been found. And this is where harassment of the victim begins: calls to the militia, interrogations, participation in searches.

And so, they find the criminal, arrest him, and sentence him. The victim has been recognized as a civil plaintiff. As a rule, the criminal succeeds in selling what he has stolen by the time he is arrested. Therefore, the court sentences the defendant to reimburse the damage he has caused. From the moment the sentence legally goes into force, what is in essence a prolonged period of degradation sets in for the victim. Indeed, every month throughout the entire term of his punishment, in accordance with a court order, the convict pays over a miserly sum to the victim.

Here is one example of this kind. For six years now, one Chepko, who was sentenced in 1983 to 12 years in prison with claims of 16,586 rubles against him, has been paying his each of his victims 34 rubles annually, or a little more than 2 rubles a month, on the basis of 14 court orders.

This example alone is evidence of an honest person's degradation because the law makes him dependent upon a thief or robber. Moreover, every month the criminal reminds him with a ruble of his existence. And if the convict is "dilatory," if he does not want to work, or there is simply no possibility find him a job in labor? In such cases, not receiving even a crumb of what has been stolen, the victim is forced to haunt the doorsteps of the authorities to ask that he be put to work so as then to exact money from him to cover the damages.

Is there a way out of the situation that has been created? I think that there is. In the first place, it is necessary to change the existing law as it concerns procedures for

reimbursing victims for material damages and to introduce the following procedures in a new legislative act. Upon establishment that a theft, robbery, or larceny has occurred and determination of the amount of loss and on the basis, for example, of a decision issued by the investigator, that a citizen will receive from a special fund this amount in his bank as reimbursement for his loss. After which, the state, in the person of the bank or of an organ especially empowered for this, will assume in the capacity of the plaintiff. In principle, it should be of no interest to the citizen whether or not they have found the criminal, for what term he has been sentenced, whether he is working in a collective labor colony or not—all such concerns will be laid on the shoulders of state organs.

In the second place, the distinction made in the law between personal and state property should be eliminated, a single concept—property—should be introduced, and the concepts of "in especially large amounts" and of "insignificance" should be applied to all its types. A mandatory minimum term of punishment should be introduced for persons who have committed property crimes. The maximum term should be made dependent upon reimbursement of damages. If you pay it back entirely—you get your freedom; if not—you will remain in a corrective labor colony until you settle with the state for every last kopeck. In my opinion, this will be just with regard to the victim and correct from the viewpoint of a law-governed state. Moreover, when imposing sentence and determining losses, it is necessary also to take into account the amounts which have been spent by organs of the militia on investigating the crime and searching for the criminal involved, which frequently amount to several thousand rubles.

Or, let us take another problem. With the death of a husband and father, the children of a family are left, as a rule, without means of subsistence. What is the solution? I think, in making use of world experience in monetary compensation to victims.

For example, in Great Britain, Austria, New Zealand, Sweden, the FRG, France, in 12 states of the United States, in the Netherlands, in Finland, in five states of Australia, a special laws have been passed stipulating compensation for damages done to the victims of crimes, and in Japan, according to a law of 1 January 1981, victims of criminal attempts on their lives or the family of a person who has died as a result of "monstrous murders," are paid on the average an amount equal to 3,400,000 yen.

Clearly, some things from foreign practice with regard to restitution for damages, at least from intentional murders unconnected with domestic motives, could also be adopted by us.

Another question legitimately arises: Where is the money going to come from to create such "victim funds"? In 1988, the material losses from property crimes within the republic amounted to 22.2 million rubles and in the first half of this year—to 10.8 million.

Of this, 17.4 and 7.8 million rubles respectively have been reimbursed. In order to compensate families that have suffered from murders and to fully reimburse losses to citizens resulting from robberies, thefts, and larceny, it is necessary to bring suit against persons who are convicted of crimes against the individual and also to make use of funds from the insurance of property, from the sale of ownerless vehicles and of unclaimed hand luggage and baggage on railroad, air, and motor vehicle transport, from fines for administrative law violations, and, in part, also of amounts received for guarding the apartments of citizens and state facilities.

It would also be possible to introduce, along with a precautionary measure—with a written undertaking not to leave the area, the practice of leaving persons at liberty until their trials under a monetary bail bond, and also for investigative organs and the criminal investigation department to react more rapidly to reports of criminal activity, to increase the timeliness of criminal arrests and the seizure of stolen valuables and property for indemnification of losses. If such a decision were to be passed, it would be possible, even in the course of 1990 and from the sources we have cited, to create a fund which, even on the basis of preliminary calculations, would amount to more than 30 million rubles.

When talking about protecting the interests of victims, it would also be expedient to stipulate within the law measures aimed at increasing their responsibility for protecting their own personal property. Indeed, citizens themselves still very frequently create for criminals all the conditions for larceny. Obviously, nobody in his life has seen a case when a person has undressed on the street and has hung his suit on the wicket gate or front door of his home. But it is a different matter with automobiles: It is already becoming the rule to leave them open anywhere one wishes, without the most elementary anti-theft devices. It seems justified to write into the law that if an object or a automobile is missing at the fault of the owner, then damages will not be reimbursed from these funds and the search for it will be paid by the victim himself.

I think that such a law could reliably protect the interests of honest citizens and would be strict but also just for persons breaking it.

Ukrainian MVD's Antispeculation Campaign

Activities Discussed

90UN1103A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
4 Feb 90 p 4

[Article by RATAU correspondent A. Litvinov: "Unite as a Community to Combat Speculators"]

[Text] Theft, illicit gain, speculation—these and other disgraceful phenomena are poisoning our life and contributing a great deal to a situation in which the extremely meager assortment of goods on store shelves is diminishing daily. Yet one can find everything in the

markets. But in the markets what has been produced at enterprises cannot be bought at state prices. One must pay several times those prices. This situation is arousing justifiable discontent among the working people. Therefore, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee recommended that the law-enforcement agencies, in order to step up the fight against speculation, conduct raids aimed at uncovering the sources of the evil and the specific people involved in it.

When we came up to the Patent Market in Kiev along with militia officers, business was in full swing. At the entrance one could already hear the noise of voices; and jackets, trousers, skirts, dresses and scarves on hangers were flapping in the wind. There was even a bigger assortment of goods on the shelves. But there were conspicuously few people at the places where cooperative members were selling their goods. The bulk of the crowd was concentrated where two rows of sellers were lined up, each holding in their hands a shoe, a tube of toothpaste, a bottle of perfume, a running shoe, a can of coffee, a box of candy, etc. No one was advertising their wares here, and no one was hawking. Customers were walking past those rows in two matching streams, only occasionally pausing to ask laconically, "How much?" And they would hear in reply, "A hundred," "Two fifty," or "One fifty." Usually the person who asked would drop his shoulders and quickly walk on.

The prices at that market really were "embellished," as one visitor put it. And this was for goods produced at state enterprises or imported goods received by stores, goods that should have been on the store shelves. What was going on was open, unconcealed speculation. Running shoes priced at 45 rubles were selling for 250; French perfume was selling for 170 instead of 50. And the prices for other goods were simply breathtaking. For example, what fashionable woman would buy panty hose for 800 rubles? Yet they were being sold for that! And as strange as it may seem, there were buyers.

After looking around, the militia officers got down to work. I will not describe the features by which they identified violators. From time to time one simply heard: "Come with us," and a seller with a sack full of goods would walk, head hung, into a special room where an attempt was made to find out where he had gotten so many things and why he was selling them at excessive prices. Here, too, experienced experts would establish the real cost of a given item. Witnesses—more accurately, people who had been making or considering purchases from the speculators—were also called in.

Let us meet one of the lawbreakers. L. I. Tkach, an engineer at the Kiev Scientific Center's Institute for the Advanced Training of Computer Programmers. She was speculating in athletic shoes and jackets. After starting to try to find out how many goods she had, even experienced officers of the Administration for Combating the

Theft of Socialist Property and Speculation were astonished when Lyudmila Ivanovna started to take, one after another, seven pairs of running shoes from under the jacket she was wearing.

"This is just the beginning. Now there will be a whole flood of speculators," I was told by V. M. Starostin, a department head with the UkSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Administration for Combating the Theft of Socialist Property and Speculation.

Indeed, while they were dealing with the engineer, the room gradually filled up with "invited" guests. One of them was S. S. Skalko, a mechanic at the Cherkassy Azot Production Association, who was selling medicine produced in the PRC. In his words, there was plenty of it in Cherkassy but a shortage in Kiev. And so he decided to make some money. V. B. Akhmetov, head of the supply department at the Borispol Youth Center in Kiev Oblast, was "nabbed" with running shoes. I barely had time to note down all the violators. Most of them did not want me to, were silent, and did not answer my questions. Only from the official militia records do I know their names and places of work.

Our attention was drawn by a noise. It turned out that a foreign woman had been detained. Dozens of tubes of toothpaste, eyebrow pencils, mascara, and 17 pair of panty hose were confiscated from her. And other foreign "tourists" were being questioned nearby. As we see, our markets are winning world recognition.

On that day a total of 24 speculators were arrested there. The actions of six of them were subject to criminal punishment.

"And what will happen to the rest," I asked V. M. Starostin.

"According to the law, they will receive administrative penalties."

We went to Kiev's Batutinskiy Rayon People's Court, where our arrested acquaintances from the market had been taken. I will not recount the entire judicial procedure. I will only say that they were all fined and the items in which they were speculating were confiscated.

"Where do the things confiscated from the speculators go?" I asked People's Judge V. N. Vovchenko.

"To special stores for confiscated goods. They will be priced there and put on sale."

In conclusion I will say that on that day goods worth thousands of rubles were confiscated from speculators at the Patent Market alone.

MVD Official's Commentary

90UN1103B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
4 Feb 90 p 4

[Commentary by Maj Gen of the Militia G. V. Berdov, Ukrainian SSR deputy minister of internal affairs]

[Text] Among the crimes committed in the economic sphere, speculation is one of the most widespread. Today, as the principal element of the so-called shadow economy, it is undermining the foundations of our society, aggravating social injustice, and corrupting people's souls. Lately the number of identified cases of criminally punishable speculation has substantially increased. It has stricken all the oblast centers, major industrial and port cities, and resort zones, and it is spreading to rural areas, too. All this is arousing indignation among the public. That is why a decision was made to check up simultaneously on all the republic's goods markets. Let me make it clear that this was not a one-shot measure. The fight against speculation is being waged constantly. As for the current raid, in the course of it 938 speculators were arrested, more than 100 criminal cases were initiated, and about 400 people received administrative penalties.

The identification of lawbreakers is only part of the work we do to combat speculation. It is more important to discover the roots of the phenomenon. Where do speculators get goods in such large quantities? How do they make contacts with their "suppliers"?

Let's take, for example, a quite fresh case that is still under investigation. Without naming names, I will say that a group of residents of the city of Berdichev in Zhitomir Oblast "contracted" with the directors of three Moscow stores and received large lots of foodstuffs from them. At the time of their arrest they had managed to sell more than 4,000 cans of sprats, 1,000 cans of instant Brazilian coffee, 40 kg of red and black caviar, 1,000 packages of Indian tea, dozens of pairs of mens and women's footwear, and other goods. At the time of their arrest more than 100,000 rubles' worth of goods and cash was confiscated from them. As we see, a whole criminal clan was operating here. And it was not a unique case.

And look what is happening with gold. Whereas we previously confiscated individual items made from this metal from violators and measured them in grams, recently in Odessa, for example, more than 400 kg of gold items was confiscated at once.

Of course, shortcomings do exist in the law-enforcement agencies' work to combat speculation and other negative phenomena. In some places we let some things get by, and some employees still lack adequate experience. Therefore, without help from the public we will not be able to fully accomplish these tasks.

Take the so-called lemon problem as just one example. People complain that the stores do not have any of these citrus fruits, while there are plenty of them in the bazaars, including those in Kiev. Where do they come from? We conducted an investigation. And we uncovered a flagrant case in which a trade specialist with one Kiev store was selling citrus fruits received for disabled persons at inflated prices to certain people from the Caucasus. The latter were selling them in the market for two to three rubles apiece. Criminal charges were

brought in this case. And it is just one case. I made a point of finding out: This year about 300 tons of lemons and more than 350 tons of oranges have been shipped into Kiev. Yet are Kievans seeing them in the stores? Here is where we could have used help from the agencies of people's control, workers' control and the auditing service. Unfortunately, they are still performing poorly.

We realize that work to combat negative phenomena must be stepped up considerably. The republic MVD has made proposals along these lines to the government. Special units whose tasks include putting a stop to organized crime, speculation and other violations of law

have been set up within the internal-affairs agencies. We are studying criminal cases carefully in order to get to the very sources of these crimes.

The offensive against speculators must be waged across a wide front. Harsh punishments must be given to the out-and-out criminals. Yet persons who engage in speculation in large quantities often receive insignificant fines or public denunciations as punishment. Will such a practice do any good? I do not think so. The law is the law. It should be lenient only on citizens who have committed chance offenses.

Minsk Journalist Urges Regional Papers Not To Republish 'Central Information'

90US0659A Minsk KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII
in Russian No 2, Feb 90 pp 14-17

[Article by Sergey Krapivin, member of USSR Journalists' Union Minsk City Organization Directorate: "The Regime of Least Advantage, or Some Thoughts About the Draft Law on the Press"]

[Text] Let us look truth in the eye: our large-format republic and oblast newspapers have in essence become subsidiaries of the central newspapers. Yes, subsidiaries, although they do possess certain rights of autonomy. However, all of this autonomy is nothing more than native exotica. It is swept aside at the first signal from the metropolis—from TASS and those like it.

Do we need examples? Here they are.

One day I laid three newspaper files out in front of me—for PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, and MINSKAYA PRAUDA—and conducted a small study. I found that in the first half of last year 119 pages of SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA and MINSKAYA PRAUDA were absolutely identical to pages in the central newspaper.

I repeat: 119 entire pages! I am not including here "trifles" of 200-300 lines, of which there is almost the same volume of identical materials.

And so it turns out that the Belorussian reader, unfolding his newspaper, sometimes cannot tell what publication he is holding in his hands? This is especially obvious in the case of Russian-language newspapers, where the process of copying announcements has become so efficient that they no longer do their own type-setting; they simply get film positives of pages from the central papers off of a facsimile machine, then glue whole pages into their own layouts. It is amusing sometimes for a professional newsman to see on the pages of our newspapers collages of the central newspapers' strikingly varied trademark types, the likes of which have never been seen in the Belorussian CP Central Committee Publishing House print shop.

Amusing? I don't think so. More likely, humiliating.

Humiliating for us, employees of the republic and oblast press, which, however, is also called local...

And as regards the Belorussian subscriber, this is nothing but an "optical illusion," the illusion that he will receive the maximum amount of complete information implied by the title of his newspaper: SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, MINSKAYA PRAUDA, and so on.

The central newspapers are in a frankly advantageous position: they are 6-8 pages long, and they are published daily. While republic papers are only four pages long, and miss one day each week.

It is especially painful to look at the oblast papers—how, with their five-day-a-week four-page editions, they laboriously copy the press' upper echelons. Today, a typical issue of an oblast newspaper looks something like this: on the first and second pages, there are articles from TASS-BELTA; on the third—"obligatories" from the obkom; and on the fourth—advertisements. How the actual newspaper contrives to exist between the walls of this "sandwich" is beyond the realm of human understanding.

The obvious absurdity of the situation is added to by the fact that newspapers published in Moscow often reach subscribers earlier than, shall we say, SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA or ZVYAZDA. The mechanism here is like this: the central newspapers transmitted by fax machine start being printed in Minsk several hours earlier than the republic papers do. And while we are feverishly formatting analogous reports, the production schedule is broken off: newspaper and magazine dispatchers do not like to be kept waiting, and their trucks take off on their runs without...the republic newspapers.

Let us consider this further. Practical experience shows that work on legislative enactments in Moscow is usually completed on Fridays. PRAVDA manages to "tear out" space for a multi-page report in its Sunday issue. But local papers, because they are closed Mondays, are able to publish it only on Tuesday.

Who, one may ask, needs a newspaper with five-day-old news?

Many people have become so accustomed to this situation that it never even occurs to them that, in principle, things could be different. Well, let's try to figure this out.

I will attempt to dig down to the objective, historical roots of the duplication of materials. It turns out that, at one time, all of this had a practical purpose.

And so, the twenties. The newspaper PRAVDA, containing directives, is shipped all the way from Moscow, itself, and it takes at least three or four days for it to get to a certain place, let's say the Lyubansk Volost of the Slutskiy Uyezd. Add the wonder of the nineteenth century, the telegraph, and also the republic newspaper ZVEZDA. The directives are duplicated, and ZVEZDA arrives in the volost on the second day.

The time is after the war. The practice of publishing the central newspapers in Minsk, still utilizing matrices received from Moscow, alas brings no cardinal changes. The plane with the matrices may arrive or may not arrive, depending on weather conditions. Thus, for insurance purposes, the teletype machines are once again switched on in the editorial offices of the republic and oblast newspapers.

With the passage of time, technological progress has perfected the transmission of information, and today the facsimile machine can provide a finished format for an offset press in minutes. The machines in our print shop

begin distributing PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA at practically the same time that Moscow does.

But everything remains the same...

The consequences of this practice have been not merely negative, but, I would suggest, catastrophic for the Belorussian press.

The small-town spirit of squalor and the inability to look at the world with one's own eyes determines the general atmosphere at our editorial offices. Colleagues' sporadic break-throughs of brilliant creativity only serve to emphasize the generally dull background.

The publicist's genre of the first-page response "in the issue" to events occurring within the republic has practically ceased to exist. The understanding of the professional specialty "front-line man" has essentially disappeared from the Belorussian journalists' lexicon.

Nor have we need the sniping publicist here, it seems; he is not necessary for the simple reason that, judging by the first pages of the oblast and republic papers, nothing ever happens in Belorussia. Everything happens somewhere else, in other regions...

This atmosphere is enough to make you laugh. One day, my colleague attempted, fairly inobtrusively—without quotation marks or references—to cite in his material the first line of the Belorussian SSR Constitution, where it says that Belorussia is a sovereign state. But the duty editor, frightened by the word "state," made a correction: "republic."

It is also impossible for us to run our own political review, because the journalists know that if you write two hundred lines overnight for an issue, in the morning the executive editor will say, with great feeling: "I'm sorry, old man, but a TASS "service memo" has just come in, and you are, alas, out of luck..."

What kind of frontline journalists are these! There are frequent days when the editor tells the entire collective—from the party department people to the sports reporters: "That's it, guys, turn off your machines for a week or two. Our material isn't going to run at all..."

This is how "golden pens" rust. This is how one's taste for investigative journalism is wasted. This is how people become disqualified and deprofessionalized. This is how the general desire to create is lost... And most important, the newspaper ceases to serve its respected subscribers.

In principle, is it possible to change the situation? Let us compare it with that of Yugoslav Slovenia. In that republic there is a newspaper with, by our standards, an average circulation: 180,000. Now, this republic newspaper has staff correspondents in the world's six leading countries and on all of the continents. And the journalists manage somehow to exist under conditions of tough market relations and inflation: on their salaries, they support families and buy apartments and cars.

But if one of our co-workers manages to be sent to Moscow, we announce this event not without some enthusiasm: "Our special correspondent is reporting from the meeting hall..." And he transmits to us a synopsis of the Belorussian delegation's paper and a group shot of the smiling members of that same delegation in Red Square. And that is all...

And the stories told by veteran journalists seem almost legendary when they tell about how, thirty years ago, SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA staff correspondent Ivan Novikov was sent to New York to cover a session of the UN, and how he lived there for months, regularly transmitting reports to the paper by telephone. It looks as if the results of the thaw in the press at that time were greater than those of the current restructuring.

If one is to judge by the content of today's republic and oblast press, then our reader is a relic preserved without change from the year 1924, when for every 17 households in Belorussia there was only one newspaper. He has no radio or television; all of his hopes are stacked on "retransmissions" of ZVYAZDA or SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA as his sole windows to the world.

But here is a new statistic: today Belorussian families subscribe, on the average, to 4-6 newspapers. More than half of these are central publications.

We can tell those who are concerned about the "orphans and beggars" who only subscribe to one newspaper that in the first place, the number of subscribers that would like to read more than one newspaper regularly but does not succeed in doing so is extremely small. And in the second place—here my colleagues, with their knowledge of life and people, will agree with me,—nine out of the ten people who only subscribe to one paper, for example, to MINSKAYA PRAVDA, do so not because of financial constraints. In principle, any newspaper is of interest to them only as a guide to "what movie is on TV today?" And as handy material for wrapping paper.

So is it necessary and is it worth it to construct an entire publishing policy based on this sort of "consumer of the written word"?

For his sake should we use newsprint, which today has become an expensive deficit item, to make innumerable copies?

These are the facts. "But where are your suggestions?" you may ask. Here they are. Articles that have already been published in the central press should not be reproduced in the republic oblast press. A "Chronicle" of these articles is all that should be kept—with source references for the reader and short annotations. The most important articles, published at the same time as the central press, should be presented in a synopsis, abbreviated form.

Nor does our reader need the daily TASS protocol photos—panoramas of meeting halls, the figures of people sitting in presidia, standing at tribunes, and the

like. Again, these shots are a relic of the times when there was no television, and when, if you remember, there was only one newspaper for 17 households.

Newspaper editors [bildredaktery] and executive secretaries can cite as many examples as you want when the paper's publishing schedule was thrown off by the wait for the next TASS panorama. But what readers actually look at it? The rare leisure-time expert on hierarchical casuistry. Well, let him satisfy his curiosity about "who was sitting in the presidium today and in what order" with the help of a central newspaper.

People may argue that as a result of a sharp decrease in "copying," even though we will begin printing more of our own original materials, there will be no increase in editorial staff honorarium funds.

This is untrue! Money, we've got. We have those many thousands of rubles that are paid out every year as advances to so-called official information sources. And has anyone seriously considered the question: "Whom and for what are we paying?"

In my time I have tasted the bread of TASS: I have worked here in BELTA, and have trained at TASS in Moscow—I know what I am talking about. Not wishing to offend my TASS colleagues as a whole, I will say that it is exactly in that monopolistic system that the special clan of "leibmasters" of the report" has developed, and now, in its prosperity, it determines the personality of all of our newspapers.

This clan, for reasons of which I will say more later, holds tenaciously to the ossified canons governing the transmission of materials. Canons that are openly made fun of by journalist colleagues from civilized countries, where, with only the rarest exceptions, newspapers give only statements of the essential theses of speeches and protocol details, instead of reproducing them in their entirety.

One of the reasons for the persistence of these canons is, in my opinion, our generally low level of political culture. In other words, the more space something takes up in the newspaper, the more weighty and important it will look to ordinary people. And because of the fact that representatives of the aforementioned clan are persons who have become, to a certain extent, closer to this world's powers that be, it is not difficult for them to play upon their boss's conceit, in order to force him to put his faith in the especial significance of every word they pronounce. And so, on the pages of our newspapers felt-like "sacred cows" graze—the plump reports, from which we, the newsmen, in fear of professional retribution, are forbidden to squeeze even one drop of water.

These "sacred cows," naturally, are milked—and very richly. But, alas, into only one pail: into the pockets of the "leibmasters." And on the fourth and nineteenth days of each month, the children of the newsmen hear over and over again: "I'm sorry, son, we didn't buy you a jacket. Papa didn't get paid again, because they couldn't find space for his report..."

What is the answer? We should not pay in one big "clump"—as a yearly subscription—for TASS-BELTA's articles, but by the line, for each of their materials that is published. And the funds that are freed up should go into the newspaper's honorarium fund.

What I have said is nothing new for us, the journalists, or for our publishers. So why don't we act to break with the existing practices, and look for support from our publishers. And I have no doubt that we will find that support. In conclusion, I will cite a fragment of the report presented at the XIII Belorussian CP Central Committee Plenum in June of last year by V. V. Grigoryev, Vitebsk obkom first secretary.

"The central press is being duplicated in its entirety. The oblast newspaper has been transformed into an official bulletin, and there is no end in sight to this flood of bureaucratic genre. The monopoly held by the central organs limits the press' opportunities to deal with local issues. I could say that this is in a way a limitation of openness in the localities. It is time for the ideological departments of the CPSU Central Committee and the Belorussian CP Central Committee to remove the weights that hung on the local press during the period of stagnation, showiness and sensationalism, and bravely proceed towards a break with the old, scheme of things, which has outlived itself."

Shall we proceed towards that break?... COPYRIGHT: "Kommunist Belorussii", 1990

New Look of Kazakh Cultural Monthly

18320027B Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN
in Kazakh 27 Jan 90 p 3

[Editorial: "PARASAT"]

[Text] The Journal MADENIYET ZHANE TURMYS, which has received so much attention in the past from Kazakh readers, has been renamed PARASAT ("Intellect") and the first issue has appeared. The reason for the renaming of the journal is to emphasize its ability to shake the intellect, to take a broad view of the world through its past concern with cultural and sociological issues. We hope that the journal will become an intellectual and stimulating confidant of every household, of every reader.

**Author Scores Perceived Inaction On Aral Sea,
Central Asian Water Crisis**

90US0690A Moscow NOVYY MIR in Russian
No 1, Jan 90 pp 201-206

[Article by Grigoriy Reznichenko: "Responses and Commentary: Not Even One Additional Glass of Clean Water"]

[Text] In September of 1988 during the days of the "Aral-88" expedition, which was organized by the NOVYY MIR and PAMIR¹ journals, the CPSU CC and USSR Council of Ministers approved a resolution regarding the Aral Sea. It is entitled: "On Measures for the Radical Improvement of Ecological and Health Conditions in the Area of the Aral Sea; for an Increase in Utilization Effectiveness and for a Strengthening of the Protection of Water and Land Resources in its Basin."

By that time perestroyka was already three and a half years old. The resolution, however, as has now become apparent, was prepared and approved by a narrow circle of administrative workers and specialists just like in the old pre-perestroyka days. The governmental commission worked for a long time, more than a year. Once again, though, its work was carried out in the old, tried and true pattern: from meeting to conference. If there was a shortage of something, it was not talk. However, the proposals and opinions disappeared in the sand. Apparently, because the commission worked almost in secret. Later the commission's chairman, Yu.A. Izrael stated to a PRAVDA correspondent in conversation, "We consciously avoided publicity about our work."

My last trip to the area around the Aral Sea in September 1989 was connected with the second session of the Aral movement and an on-site analysis of the situation.

What kind of changes had taken place in the year since the CC and Council of Ministers' resolution had taken effect? We studied this problem on location and discussed it with those who were called upon to carry out the resolution and with those for whom its implementation would be a life-saving reprieve from approaching destruction.

At the lower levels the resolution of the party and the government on the Aral Sea was perceived like the arrival of summer in the north - with holiday spirits. The Karakalpakiya and Kzyl-Orda party obkoms gave it a high, perhaps too high an evaluation. The special tenth session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet (eleventh convocation) noted, "The resolution of the CPSU CC and USSR Council of Ministers is a document of enormous political, economic and social significance, an illustration of the concern of the Communist Party and Soviet state about an improvement in the ecological and health situation and an improvement in the social and day-to-day conditions of life of the population." And they went on according to the old, hackneyed routine, "In recent years a certain amount of work on the future strengthening of the region's economy has been completed, the implementation of a

number of water conservation and land reclamation measures has begun in the area of the Aral Sea and the basins of the Amudarya and Syrdarya rivers..." "For the already completed twelfth five year plan annually there were 1.4 - 1.6 times more per capita capital investment devoted to these objectives than the average level throughout the Uzbek SSR ..." "Nonetheless, the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet notes that the Soviet and economic organs of the republic allowed serious miscalculations in the utilization of water and land resources of the Aral Sea basin..." And so on, and so on.

It is not difficult to determine today's ecological, economic and social situation in the Aral region by looking at any two or three cities, villages or rayons in this region. A year has gone by since the resolution was passed. Has anything changed for the better, for example in Aralsk? Perhaps, there are more vegetables in the stores, or more milk for the children? Nothing of the kind. As before, there is a serious shortage of medicines for the sick. As before, the local inhabitants rush to the restaurant cars of passing trains, but not in search of delicacies. They would be happy to find a bottle of normal lemonade, a package of cookies, a handful of caramel. But the car attendants rudely push them off the steps of the train. Within the city limits twenty-nine stagnant, foul-smelling lakes offend passers-by with their stench. The local authorities simply do not have the resources to get rid of them. The republic and the Union, though, have turned their backs on the people's grief. There has been no increase here in the amount of available drinking water: one bucket a day per person. Kazalinsk lives in a fearful and poverty stricken state. Muynak searches agonizingly for a solution to the deep food and ecological crisis.

There are all kinds of slogans and billboards in Muynak. At the fish canning enterprise group, which uses fish trucked in from the ocean, the level of "billboardization" as in the center of town is unusually high. A gigantic and colorful wall panel in one of the shops tells about the infinitely happy life of the people of this kray. In huge letters it reads, "XXVII CPSU Congress. Glory to the great Soviet people- builder of communism!" In the city itself in letters almost a meter high the sign reads, "Thank you, Motherland, for our happy and joyfull childhood." This is at a time when almost 100 newborn babies die before the age of one for every 1000 born. Even after one year death follows on their heels. In Karakalpakiya 73 out of every 100 people are sick. (By the way, it was namely in the Aral area that our country officially registered its first "ecological death.") At the cemetery in Muynak we discovered dozens of small children's graves. People drink contaminated water. There is no other kind available. A bottle of mineral water in Muynak is extremely expensive, if, of course, it is delivered at all. Vodka gets delivered but water....every now and then.

The recently declassified city of Leninsk, the city of the builders of the space center, Baykonur, and those who run its operations, was added to the list of cities which have suffered ecological damage. I first learned about the unfavorable ecological situation in that city from a telegram to the editors signed by Deputy Chairman of the Gorispolkom Stanislavich and Chairman of the City Council of War and Labor Veterans Setekin:

"The Syrdarya River has become dangerous for people as a source of infection. It is impossible to swim, fish or use the water. The river's flow is at its lowest level of the past 30 years. The government's decisions on the Aral Sea are not being carried out. Public attention and support for us are needed to solve this problem; perhaps a public commission on the problems of the Aral Sea could examine our problems again.

So it turns out that nothing has changed anywhere. During the entire year the supply of clean water did not increase by even one glass. Life flows quickly, and like a flywheel, it has been wound so tightly by the administrative-command system that nobody is capable of either stopping or slowing its forward motion.

As recently as one year ago during the two-month expedition, I believed that the Aral Sea could be saved. The basis for my optimism, strangely enough, was the unimaginable, flagrant scale of economic incompetence. It seemed that it would be impossible to close one's eyes to the existing economic disintegration and to reconcile oneself to it. So I thought that we would overcome the economic incompetence, set things right in the economy and save the Aral Sea. Simple? Nothing could be further from the truth. Economic incompetence definitely does not lend itself to eradication under the conditions of our present social-political and economic system. On the contrary, it is growing and multiplying. As life itself has demonstrated, when absolutely everything belongs to the state and, therefore, to nobody, there is no responsibility and incentive. As the satirist noted, "you pretend to pay us a salary and we pretend to work." Economic incompetence and wage-leveling in a system of state ownership have led us to indifference and cynicism which is devastating not only for the economy but for the environment as well. Because of this the Volga and Dnepr rivers, the tundra and taiga, the steppes of Kalmykiya are dying; Kemerovo and Magnitogorsk, Berezniki and Zaporozhe are suffocating. If not today then tomorrow the areas around the Caspian Sea, which may choke to death on hydrogen sulfide, will ask for help. But right now we are talking in concrete terms about the Aral Sea and its environs, about the expansive delta region of the once powerful rivers of Central Asia, the Amudarya and Syrdarya where the habitat has become unsuitable for life. The leadership of the oblasts in the area near the Aral Sea, Karakalpakkiya and Kzyl-Orda, have undertaken and are undertaking every possible effort to correct the situation but their efforts are obviously not enough. People's lives have become unbearable in this kray which flourished for so long.

Who then is supposed to save them? The republics of Central Asia, the entire USSR or mainly the central authorities? This question arises constantly, first of all, among those who are suffering ecological troubles today. It is difficult to give a simple answer to that question. But nonetheless...

The main responsibility for saving the Aral Sea apparently lies with central government since it is the one who for many years encouraged the activities of the central agencies which was devastating for all living creatures. In doing so, it contributed to the growth of the ecological crisis. And who, if not the government, should answer for the efficacy of resolutions which it passed on its own!

And what about in practical terms? For five years at all levels people have been talking about a reduction of cotton production and the transfer of land to orchards, vineyards and livestock production but there has been no movement. In Karakalpakkiya this year there are plans to free 27,000 hectares of land previously devoted to raising cotton (16,000 hectares of land devoted to rice). The percentage of cultivated land devoted to cotton production in Central Asia continues to reach levels which are unheard of in the world; 70-75 per cent although it has been proven by science that levels over 50 per cent lead to a loss of humus, soil depletion and infertility and finally to degradation of the land.

The resolution states that in 1990 the Aral Sea will begin to receive 8.7 cubic kilometers of water, by 1995 11, by the year 2000 15-17 and by the year 2005 21-25. For the Aral Sea this is like applying hot compresses to a dead person since 33-36 cubic kilometers of water evaporate from its surface in a year. Simple mathematical calculations will confirm that by the year 2005 180-200 cubic kilometers of water will be left in the Aral Sea. By that time and with such a program for its "salvation" the sea will separate into several reservoirs with bitterly salty, poisonous water and will perish completely. The Aral Sea will die and Central Asia's natural "oven" which neutralizes the action of the cold, northern winds will also disappear.

Incidentally, that insignificant amount of water for the Aral Sea which was established by the resolution will reach it only in the ideal situation if 3.3 million hectares of land formerly under irrigation are reconstructed and several hundred thousand hectares of new irrigated land are taken care of from 1990-2000. That is hardly possible. On the average that is 300-330 thousand hectares per year. New development of these lands is less energy and material-intensive but even during the best years in Central Asia only up to 200 thousand hectares per year were developed. However, these lands have not produced anything yet and have not been taken into consideration by anyone. They are only being introduced into usage and the land which is to be redeveloped at least is producing something. Maybe only 15 centners of cotton per hectare, but that comes to 300 thousand tons per year. Last year they essentially did not get around to

starting the reconstruction process. The existing over-centralized system of management in which the allocation of lumber and nails, shovel and hammers is carried out through the central authorities has hindered and will hinder any transformations.

The resolution states that in order to find surplus water for the dying sea it is necessary to decrease the development of new lands by 160-170 thousand hectares by 1990. That year has already arrived. The figure, in essence, has not changed. If appropriations from the state budget for this work are reduced, that means that the resources for them will be found in the budgets of the collective and state farms.... In the Khorezmskaya oblast, for example, they continue to develop new tracts of land for cotton production in areas of impassable sand. Planting soil is specially shipped in and then the water is pumped in...The edge of Siberia, as one of my acquaintances says. After this there is no where else to go!

As recently as last year surplus water volume was supposed to have been available for the Aral Sea as a result of the measures stipulated in the resolution. They weren't there! Just as there has not been any surplus water in the last decades, there is still none. A miracle did not occur and apparently could not have occurred. Because the resolution itself was adopted under pressure from the Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Water Resources], to satisfy its own wishes, practically at its command. After all, we are talking only about the correction of "mistakes" which were committed by Minvodkhoz. Nothing more than that. The person who has money is the one who requests the song. Minvodkhoz-Minvodstroy [Ministry of Water Resource Construction] dictates how people in the Aral Sea area are to live (and others as well) because it receives annual billion-ruble subsidies from the state and feels omnipotent. The government commission, on the other hand, simply was led around by powerful agencies on a leash and did not undertake radical steps.

Why not, for example, turn over, let's say, half or a third of the land to the peasants of Central Asia. Over the course of centuries irrigated agriculture has existed here and the catastrophic scale of the salination and bogging of the land became possible only in a system of collective and state farms. Today in Uzbekistan 2.6 percent of irrigated farm lands are in the hands of the peasants yet they provide a quarter of the total food in the republic. And a similar economic miracle has been going on for years. Why delay? Why persuade milkers, foremen or farm managers to tell people on television how good the collective farm system is and how the collective farm system has yet to realize its full potential.

In Central Asia people often tell stories about the mirabs [Central Asian irrigation specialists] with admiration. These were men who truly cared about their work, strong and intelligent, at times clever and tricky but who knew their business. The mirab's individual land allotment was usually located at the end of the water distributor.

The mirab whose fields either dried out or became boggy was considered incapable. (In the history of agriculture such an occurrence was a rarity.) Maybe, that is why they lived well, these mirabs? In the 1930's they were equated with kulaks and exiled to Siberia. Old people today still recall the wheel with buckets (chigir) lowered into the irrigation well. The mirab knew how many times the wheel needed to turn so that the correct amount of water spilled onto the field and no more. But nowadays, there are no mirabs and no measuring of the water. "Everything around belongs to the collective farm and everything around belongs to me."

But let's return to the resolution. It directs, "Beginning in 1991 the development of new land in large tracts will cease." So what. That means they will begin to develop the land in small tracts but on the same scale.

The resolution proposes very timidly, but proposes nonetheless to reduce plantings of cotton. After all, the Aral is a sea that has been consumed by cotton more than anything else. But even this proposal is not taken seriously. In summing up results in 1988, it turned out that 23 thousand more hectares of cotton were grown than called for by the plan. Naturally, the issue is not cotton in general (the country needs it), but rather how much can be grown here. It is also about whether it is wise to use 2 million tons of it every year for technical purposes. This level has not been reduced at all which leads to a loss of 12 cubic kilometers of water per year. Should not this kind of situation be considered and analyzed by a government commission devoted to saving the Aral Sea? It should be but it hasn't been looked at. Measures to prevent the filtration of water in canals and irrigation systems (their length in Central Asia has reached 180 thousand kilometers but only 15 thousand of them have antifiltration coverings) also have not become a subject of discussion and have not earned the commission's attention. The works of the scientist, V.V. Mkhitoryan and the group of specialists who elaborated a methodology and created models of experimental machines which place a clay or polymer screen on the filtration path have remained unnoticed. In one hour 300 square meters are insulated. During the course of ten to fifteen years the "Ekran" machine's work could have saved no less than 20-25 cubic kilometers of water. In addition, the canals and irrigation rigs would have remained in working order and they would not have had to have been stopped; that is the essence of the screen system's technology. A number of countries have already proposed to acquire a license for this machine. But the inventor still refuses and has not agreed to its sale. After all, he believes, then these machines would have to be purchased abroad for hard currency. A paradox?! We still do not have either in Central Asia or in another arid zone an experimental field for testing this equipment even though the machine made its appearance over eight years ago. There is no money and nobody to finance the experiment or the mass production of the machine. On the other hand, there are resources enough for laying irrigation pipe and digging canals with dirt or sand bottoms.

Too many of those things which could have radically improved the ecological situation in the area around the Aral Sea were ignored by the government commission which prepared the draft resolution. Even the extremely critical problem of the Tashauzskiy by-pass canal was not noticed. The problem is multinational in nature, explosive and came about as a result of the political games of high party officials.

Water allocation along the border has strained national relations in Central Asia on a number of occasions. Passions were enflamed at one time because of the canals from the Amudarya River to the Tashauza. Turkmeniya had been soliciting the construction of its own separate canal to by-pass, or more accurately, to go around the Khorezmskaya oblast over the sands. The former First Secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party's Central Committee Sh. Rashidov was not the only one to object to this. Also objecting were specialists who showed that almost half of the water would be absorbed by the sand. Then the time came for developing the Karshinskaya steppe, lands located above the Amudarya River which contained coarse, gravelly soil. But then the former First Secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party's Central Committee M. Gapurov came out against the project. The irrigation drainage water, polluted by poisonous chemicals threatened to find its way unhindered into the Amudarya River. In addition, according to calculations water losses would have been significant. (That is what finally did happen.) M. Gapurov objected to one Minvodkhoz project; Sh. Rashidov to another, also being pushed through by Minvodkhoz. But then all of a sudden both agreed to the plans. Each decided that his objection was not substantive...How did that happen, I wonder?

The Karshinskiy tracts of land, where there are a multitude of unprofitable farms, were developed and the construction of the Tashauzskiy canal, of which 140 kilometers are dry, is being completed. Already many kilometers of the canal once again have been filled in by sand. All right, they will dig out the sand. But specialists say that when the canal is filled with water, it will create a head for the underground water flowing in the direction of Karakumy which, if it rises, could destroy the foundations of the unique, ancient monuments of Khiva. If that happens, who will guarantee that people won't grab their hoes and go to fill in the Tashauzskiy canal?

The Aral Sea is dying. During the past year the level of the sea fell by almost a meter. This once again confirms the fact that the governmental commission, alas, has not found a serious concept for the salvation of the Aral Sea and its environs. Namely, a concept and not self-seeking departmental decisions.

The TED (technical-economic report) is only now being reviewed. Then a review of the TEO (technical-economic substantiation) will follow. Then the drafting process. There are proposals in the TED which view the creation of two Aral Seas at the edge of the cities of Aralsk and Muynak. Probably one can assume that Minvodkhoz-Minvodstroy will create protective dams on the sea side

of Aralsk and Muynak and will fill these artificial reservoirs with water. Or rather not with water but a poisonous compote consisting of one half irrigation drainage water.

If the government commission was successful in doing anything, it was including in the resolution the requirement for the construction of new water lines. As we know, only one person in ten drinks more or less normal tap water in the entire area around the Aral Sea. This will not be carried out anyway though. Out of the twelve union ministries which according to the resolution are supposed to allocate money from their budgets for the construction of waterlines, not one has come forward with a single kopeck yet.

In Nukus the local authorities, inspired by the resolution, created Aralvodstroy [Aral Water Resource Construction] without hesitation. People were found to work as was equipment and, of course, a good-sized organization appeared. But what is a construction organization without funds? (Especially since the local construction industry base is weak.) There is no cement, metal, gravel, lumber or sand. The governmental decision exists but it turns out that it is impossible to carry out. Of course, some of the work, mostly excavation, was somehow managed through financing; they cannot just sit around idly. But in this work there is little which was specified by the resolution.) In this case what is the value of a decision like that?!

In March 1986 before the latest resolution on the Aral Sea was issued, the government approved the resolution, "On Measures to Accelerate the Economic and Social Development of the Karakalpakiya ASSR." A similar document also came out regarding Kzyl-Orda. One and a half years later another resolution was issued; on the nonfulfillment of the previous two. "During 1986-1987 4.5 km of sewage and 2.6 km of heating pipe were laid in the city of Nukus, or 14 and 18 percent compared to the five year plan assignment. The UzSSR gosagroprom did not fulfill the plan regarding health services and cultural-welfare facilities. The UzSSR Gosstroy [State Construction Committee], using state capital investments, built 31.4 thousand square meters of living space while the plan called for 128.8 thousand, or 24 percent." So there it is; 14-18 percent, or in the best case 24 percent of what is planned is actually completed.

Resolutions of the USSR Central Committee and Council of Ministers ceased to function properly a long time ago; they have stopped being documents whose instructions are considered mandatory because they do not come with adequate material support, because too many resolutions are adopted and because our bureaucracy learned long ago without great difficulty or harm to itself to work around these resolutions...

Unfortunately, not much is going to change in the region even if the unimaginable occurs and everything planned by the government commission becomes a reality. Perhaps the agony of the Aral Sea and its environs will be

prolonged a bit. After all, this document is only the first step. But will there be a next?

According to scientists' calculations, correcting the situation in the Aral Sea and its environs would cost no less than 30-35 billion rubles. Our government obviously cannot afford these kinds of expenditures right now.

The central authorities and their agencies who exerted considerable effort to cause an ecological catastrophe in the Aral Sea do not have either the resources or a serious desire to eliminate its consequences.

Then why doesn't our government request aid from the international community? Or should our other institutions and public organizations do this?

Six months earlier American writers and journalists from the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE, BBC television and a journalist from Stockholm finally were able to get through. But at the same time higher authorities, showing concern for our security, did not allow two journalists from the French magazine ACTUEL to come to the Aral Sea and after that blocked the representatives from Holland from arriving. The Americans William Ellis, Phillip Micklin, David Ternly, the English citizens Jane Corbin, Dzhanfranko Norelli and the Swede Peter Nilson will bring to the attention of the international public their and our alarm and pain over the Aral Sea.

However, even if the world does respond to this trouble, what is important to us are our own actions. Saving the Aral Sea and the restoration of its environs must become a kind of test for our present government, a test of its decisiveness and consistency in the matter of improving the entire ecological situation in the country.

Footnotes

1. Upon completion of the Aral expedition, we related on the pages of this magazine about how the Aral region suffers from a serious ecological malady and how the Aral Sea has turned from a body of fresh water into a dead, salt water sea which is drying up at a catastrophically rapid rate (see NOVYY MIR, 1989, No 5).

Kazakh Editorial Supports Proposal to Turn Rivers South

18320030A Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN
in Kazakh 12 Mar 90 p 1

[Editorial: "There is No Other Way, Siberian Waters Must Be Turned South"]

[Text] Today it is not possible for anyone to remain aloof when he hears these words. It is well known that the Aral tragedy is not just being thought about in this republic, but in the entire Soviet Union, and even in the world.

Not a little time has passed since the alarm was raised about the "Aral." At that time many good ideas, proposals and plans were advanced to save the sea. It is well

known that among them the proposal to turn waters of Siberian rivers south to the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan has found the support of many scientists and specialists. The proposal was widely publicized and our hopes began to rise. But we rejoiced too early: it is a fact that the question was put aside by a resolution of the CPSU Central Committee.

How could this be so? Were we not destroying the Aral before our very eyes! We saw the truth of the disaster that lay before us: if civilization allows the sea to dry up, thereby civilization itself will become subject to inconceivable damage. Proof of this is the fact that the millions of tons of bitter dust raised by the wind from the sea bottom left bare by the retreat of the sea has already begun to fall not just in our region, but likewise in a number of oblasts of the RSFSR, Belorussia, in Latvia and in other places still more remote.

Thus, taking these circumstances into consideration, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers the year before last issued a special resolution "Concerning Measures to Fundamentally Improve Ecological and Public Health Conditions in the Aral region, Use More Efficiently and Protect water and Land Resources in the Aral Basin." Last year there was a meeting of party and economic activists in Kzyl-Orda Oblast on how this resolution is being carried out. It was shown at the meeting that economic problems accumulated during the years of stagnation had considerably damaged our environment. For that reason, along with questions of protecting water and land resources, there was also detailed discussion of the issue of achieving economic, ecological, social and democratic tasks in a coordinated manner. As what little has been done in this area was reviewed, the discussions returned again and again to water. There was good reason for this.

Indeed, above all the Aral needs water. But its present state is not a good one. It has been proposed that the amount of water flowing into the Aral during an entire year reach 30-35 cu km. There is no way this can be achieved. What must we then do? Should we sit on our hands?!

It is no secret that in this respect we have been a little timid in comparison to the scientists and poet-writers of union republics such as neighboring Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Our voice is still impotent as we watch the Aral go. We knock shyly at the doors of the responsible ministries and organizations. We do not know what our Social Committee for Aral and Balqash Problems has done, what it proposes to do. If things continue as they are now will we not one day find ourselves suddenly deprived of the Aral, desolate?..

Rawshanbek Bektibayev, official of the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Irrigation, member of the USSR Writers Union, thus brings out the truth on these issues. Please read his article on page four of the present issue of our newspaper.

Only Solution to Aral Problem, Says Kazakh, Is More Water

18320030B Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN
in Kazakh 12 Mar 90 p 4

[Article by Rawshanbek Bektibayev, official of the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Irrigation, member of the USSR Journalists Union: "There is No Other Way, Siberian Waters Must Be Turned South"]

[Text] When our father Qorqyt spread out a rug on the water of the Syr-Dariya and caused his blessed qobyz to wail, was he not presenting to our eyes a future in which the waters of the Aral have withdrawn, when the children are dying, when mothers produce milk mixed with blood from their breasts, and when the people are sad and grieve? Indeed, that man, who went to each of the four corners of the world, would never have been able to understand such a horrible thing.

Although this is a matter of a writer-fantacist speculating about the distant future, it causes us, we who have written in this genre, to think deeply about the Aral and Syr-Darya tragedy, and about the future of the people of the five republics situated near to the Aral and Syr-Darya, in our capacities as officials of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Irrigation. To be sure, no writer, poet or citizen can fail to be moved, not feel deeply about this situation. For this reason, our senior writer S. Zalygin has opened his soul to his little nation, has come out resolutely against turning a portion of the Siberian waters towards Europe and Central Asia, and has waged a major struggle. But the writer once had a different view. He wrote in 1970, as he began his career in land reclamation and defended his dissertation as doctoral candidate in this area, that "a reservoir will be built sooner or later on the Ob River. It will save the Ertis and the dry regions of Central Asia from becoming desert." Now a number of overstated statistics intended to prove that historical and cultural sites and favorite spots of the Russian people in the European portions of Siberia will be put under water, and that there will be no economic benefits at all have been mentioned freely. On this matter I am forced to refer to an article on this subject which appeared in last year's issue No 6 of the magazine ZVEZDA VOSTOKA. It is stated there: "That richness which we are most proud of—is our land irrigated for centuries. Only water is needed for the white-golden cotton which has become the symbol of our republic, for grape vines bending from their weight of fruit, for ripe red pomegranates catching the eye like a flash of sunlight. The principal arteries for water reaching us are the Amu- and Syr-Darya. Whereas these rivers provide moisture of only 100 cu km even in very wet years, some 80 percent goes to irrigate 7 million hectares of land. The remaining 20 percent will no longer be used after 1995. But this has to do only with the Amu-Darya, and it is well known that Syr-Darya water is entirely used for economic purposes. Because of this the water does not reach the Aral.

This is the reason why the 30 million people living around the Aral Sea now no longer can find the water they need for their daily lives. According to demographic projections, the total populations of the republics bordering on the Aral will reach 50 and 70 millions in the years 2000 and 2010 respectively. But S. Zalygin has suggested no ways whatever for saving the Aral. This is the reason that we have again proposed diversion of Siberian waters, in spite of his opposition." Thus it is written in the article.

But, taking this into consideration, even if we, under present circumstances, completely economize in our use of water and if we conserve every drop in the field, we will still in the end have no other recourse than turning the waters of the Ob branch of the Siberian waters in our direction. We are not trying to take water from the European Portions of Siberia (the Dvina River, Lake Onega, the upper Pechora), but from the Ob. Whereas the amount of yearly flow of the Ob is 397 cu km, we only need 7 percent of this. What we are proposing in this regard is to dig a canal up to Tobyl City from the place where the Ertis feeds into the Ob, and from there to bring the water to the Aral through the Torgay foothills. The width of the canal dug from Tobyl city would be 150 m, its depth 14.5 m. This area seems to be suited to this purpose by nature. This is very convenient. It has been observed that some mountain peoples load donkeys with heavy loads to bring water to difficult areas and turn them loose. When this happens the poor donkeys, to make it easy on themselves, look for the easiest paths in the mountains. Thus they deliver their loads to their intended goals without overdoing it. If we were thus to extend water pipes along the paths used by the donkeys this would turn out to be the most convenient route. Is not this a matter of people having to learn more from nature itself? Likewise, we must take into consideration the natural peculiarities of the Torgay foothills.

The Ertis River is one of the great tributaries of the Ob. Since much of its flow is through Kazakhstan, it must seem that S. Zalygin has no right to say anything about this river. S. Zalygin must understand that the area from the Ob to Tobyl is wilderness, a region where people do not live and is impenetrable marshland. However, it must be mentioned that scientific research was carried out on a broad front during the years 1976-1980 which concluded that turning Siberian waters towards Central Asia would result in no ecological and economic difficulties. To be sure, as writers such as S. Zalygin, Bondarev and Belov, and academicians such as Yanshin and Golitsyn have said, certain circumstances could have a negative impact if Siberian waters were turned from the European portions of Siberia to the Edil river. But be this as it may, the uproar about this has nothing whatever to do with the turning of Siberian waters towards Central Asia, it would seem.

To be sure, we understand the good intentions of our elder brother writer. But we must surely think of the future of the 70 million persons living in the Aral area.

What is a thousand wildernesses to the life of one child? We must also take this side of the matter into consideration.

Some 65 cu km of water are needed a year to stop the withdrawal of the Aral and restore it. Because of this, it appears that 14-19 billion rubles of financing will be needed if we add in costs for work to run water from Siberian areas, water to be added from the Caspian and other waters from varied sources through reservoirs. If we give up use of 60 percent of our lands this will result in a decrease in national income of 18-20 billion rubles. As can also be seen from this fact, the state will not gain a great deal from diverting Siberian waters.

Some 30 cu km of water a year are needed to keep the Aral at its present level. Many cu km of this will evaporate. Only 10 cu km of water presently flows into the area from all locations. This is 22 cu km too little. When there has been a complex refurbishment of all land reclamation systems, and when waters behind various dams have been taken into consideration we can find another 10 cu km of water. However, according to the calculations of a state commission this will require our giving up cultivation of 9 percent of our irrigated lands and our ceasing immediately to develop new irrigated lands (7.2 million hectares). Since the increase in the population by the year 2000 will be 20 millions, per-capita irrigated land will decrease from 0.21 hectares to 0.13 hectares. This means that in place of the 2300 rubles now spent for yield from one hectare, 4500 rubles will be spent, or a two-fold increase. From this point of view, the proposed measures are utterly impossible from an economic point of view.

Judging by what the great Greek historian Herodotus said about our region, once called Turkistan, it seems to have exceeded Egypt in fertility. In those times the Ystyqkol had a great deal more water and the Uzbay river issuing from it flowed into the Caspian. It is said that one branch of that river was the Amu-Dariya. We know about the story of how Alexander of Macedon (Zulqarnayn), at the time of the nomadic peoples living in the area, stopped his advance there and pulled back his armies. Be that as it may, we have discovered from the ruins of a city found near the Ystyqkol that our ancestors farmed the land. The conclusions from this are: it is certain that 2,500 years ago, our ancestors, in addition to leading a nomadic life, had begun to go over to a sedentary existence as well. It is true that the famous Saka emperor Tomirist (Tumar) was moving in this direction. It appears that he later made the houses built there into his capital. The city in that ochre plain, called Chingu, occupies the place of a Troy in Central Asian archaeology. This is so because this was a flourishing city existing 3000 years before our era.

We make reference to history here because we are attempting to overcome the view that the people of Central Asia, the Kazakhs among them, have been nomadic since ancient times, and that sedentary life was something taught them by Europe. At the same time,

there has accumulated since ancient times a great deal of experience with mastery of irrigated lands. If the present state of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, who have agriculture in their blood, is poor, it seems that it will be still worse in the future. For this reason, as various incidents and economic difficulties come to the fore in our country in growing numbers, we now have a responsibility towards future generations. Opening our souls to the Aral tragedy, adding our voices to the clamors of the journalists, of poet-writers, this is our goal as we express the hope that we might be of some small help. My countrymen, let us not forget from where and how our bread is produced as we sit wrapped up in ourselves. Let us not forget as we sit in our warm houses and offices the land reclaimers who work tirelessly for an abundant harvest, digging canals, preparing the land in the steppe out in the frosty wind biting at their faces. They are no topic of ordinary conversation. However, it may be that we have no need for a Ministry of Land Reclamation and Irrigation in our republic today. In its place we should organize a concert.

It is realized that during the years of stagnation the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Irrigation too made many errors. Who did not make errors in those times, you might ask? But be that as it may, we must understand that responsibility towards future generations does not mean sitting and twisting our hands. Not just ourselves, also American scientist P. Miklin, from the other side of the world, as an expression of his compassion and citizenship, has made known in his report to the VI International Congress held in Ottawa (Canada) many facts connected with the Aral, and has made many valuable suggestions to our scientists and writers, worth taking as models and putting into practice. The essence of what he said is this: "Water resources in the Soviet Union average 47,000 cu km a year. It ranks second to Brazil in this regard. However, 84 percent of these waters are located in little populated, economically little efficient Siberian portions of the Soviet Union. Some 16 percent of the Soviet population is located in the south, and some 75 percent in the west. They produce more than 80 percent of agricultural products. But water is in very short supply in these areas. Since M.S. Gorbachev has come to power, he has been forced to halt the project to divert Siberian waters. The reason is that construction of the project will require a great deal of capital. Also discussed have been previously forgotten economic, ecological and social effects of diverting the rivers. At least 95 billion rubles of financing will be needed for the renewal of the mastery of new lands for the Soviet Union in accordance with current conditions. In addition, there is a water shortage in the southern areas. Leaving aside the question of the errors of the facts and figures of S. Zalygin, editor of the famous magazine NOVIY MIR, we must even say that there are shameful things far from the truth, based on pure imagination. Thus, the 90 year water problem of the Soviet Union is not just a matter of water shortage, a complete political and social change is needed as well."

We have been suspicious about Foreigners up until recently. We have taken pride that only our nation is right. Now times have changed, humanitarianism is something native to us all. When an American professor from the other side of the world has opened his soul to the Aral, how can we not raise our voices as we see clearly the Aral vanishing before our eyes. In addition, since we live in our highly populated capital and in other fertile oblasts of Siberia, it would seem that we have a right to 7 percent of Siberian water.

These days our republic's leader, Nursultan Abishuly Nazarbayev, has been saying a great many grand words from the podium about the special nature of the Kazakh economy, and about going over to self-management. We support him completely. We hope that this issue will be settled. But if the water problem is not solved, our economy will not be able to develop energetically. No life is possible without water. But water alone will save the Aral. For this reason we say again and again in answer to the question of whether or not Siberian waters should be diverted, that we not only should do so, but we must do so...

Commission Approves Georgian SSR Environmental Plan

90US0713A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
28 Feb 90 p 2

[GRUZINFORM report: "Ecology is a State Concern"]

[Text]Information From Government House

The Commission on Ecology of the republic's Council of Ministers discussed and generally approved the draft State Program of the Georgian SSR for Protecting the Environment and Making Efficient Use of Natural Resources for the 13th Five-Year Plan and for the period extending to the year 2005. It was worked out under assignment from the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers by the Georgian SSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature and Timber Management and by the Georgian Academy of Sciences, with the participation of republic scientists, practical ecology workers and members of the community.

It was underscored at the commission meeting that this program is to serve as a platform of practical action for improving the ecological situation in the republic. Describing its goals and tasks, G. Kutateladze, deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature and Timber Management, and M. Tsitskishvili, scientific secretary of the Ecology Commission under the Presidium of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, stated that it provides first of all for improving the entire system for making efficient use of natural resources and for the precise coordination of scientific and technical work in this area. In addition to the establishment of a state monitoring network for protecting the environment, the program covers comprehensive studies for a thorough analysis of all the nature

protection factors and the development of an ecological plan for the republic's socioeconomic development. It is unusual in that it specifically defines not only the tasks involved in protecting and making efficient use of land, soil, water, air and the plant and animal world, but also matters pertaining to ecological training and education and the promotion of environmental protection and other pressing problems in this vitally important area.

The discussion of the main provisions in the program was thorough and substantive. Taking part in it were members of the commissions as well as invited scientists and specialists, leaders of a number of ministries and departments, scientific establishments and educational institutions, representatives of creative unions, the All-Georgian Rustaveli Society and the People's Front of Georgia, other public organizations and their nature-protection and youth associations.

Analyzing the state of the environment in Georgia, the speakers stressed the pressing need to implement effective steps to save the republic from an ecological disaster and create conditions which would ensure the health and the ecological safety of the present and future generations. There was a constructive discussion about ways and means of preserving the biosphere, protecting and making efficient use of the land, restoring the flora and fauna, the air and water, and restoring the potential of natural resources for the republic's effective socioeconomic development. It was pointed out that prime attention must be given to the restructuring of ecological thinking, the development of ecological knowledgeability, awareness and glasnost, and the involvement of the broad public in nature-protection work, which has a special place in the hierarchy of vital values.

The participants in the meeting were unanimous in their belief that, as reflected in the program, steps must be carried out in a planned manner in all areas of the republic's national economy to apply resource-conserving, minimum-waste or waste-free production processes. There was also complete support for the proposals that a new and effective system for making efficient use of natural resources must be worked out and implemented on the basis of economic methods of management, that it is essential to establish a unified information system for ecological monitoring and observation of the environment and to ensure the ecologically sound distribution of production forces and the reproduction of natural resources. Great satisfaction was expressed in the concept contained in the state program to the effect that we need to establish mandatory ecological expert appraisals both of plans for the construction, the expansion and reconstruction of large national economic facilities and of existing production facilities which are causing considerable harm to the environment. It is proposed that not a single project of any significance be built in the republic without a finding from such a commission of experts.

The draft state program covers not just the specific tasks involved in making efficient use of natural resources, but

also the main directions for their implementation. Separate chapters also cover matters pertaining to the implementation of scientific and technical and ecological policy in the area of resource conservation and environmental protection, restructuring of the very system for administering nature-protection activities, the development of international cooperation in the area of nature protection, and so forth. Also precisely spelled out in the program are practical steps to protect the environment and make efficient use of natural resources, which it is planned to implement during the 13th Five-Year Plan and extending to the year 2005, as well as the stages of their implementation. In the first stage (1991 to 1995) it has been decided to channel all financial and material resources mainly into the elimination of the crisis situations in those cities and rayons and at those industrial centers where the ecological situation is still particularly bad and there is a danger to the health of the population. In the second stage (from 1996 to 2005) the resources allocated are to be used for increasing nature-protection, mainly restorative, work.

Due to the fact that many worthwhile comments and constructive suggestions were made during the preliminary discussion of the draft state program, it was decided to establish an editorial board to be chaired by G. Sanadze, vice president of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, to finalize the text. It will then be submitted for consideration to the Presidium of the republic's Council of Ministers, after which it is planned to publish the draft program in the press for universal discussion.

The commission's work plan for 1990 was approved at the session.

N. Chitanava, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers and commission chairman, summed up the session.

Spokesman on Program, Goals of Georgian Greens Movement

90US0713B Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
20 Feb 90 p 4

[Interview with Zurab Zhvaniya, executive secretary of Greens Movement, by Eka Akhalkatsi: "An Important Subject: What Concerns the 'Greens'"]

[Text] [Akhalkatsi] Remember the first flashes of glasnost in our republic? The beginning of the mass meetings, demonstrations and the expressing of "one's thoughts aloud"? And the first victory, when the government, pressured by public opinion, decided to halt construction of the Transcaucasus Main Railway? The foundation for the establishment of the Greens Movement in Georgia was laid at that time. The outline of the organization, now registered with the Georgian Council of Ministers, was only indicated with a "dotted line" at that time, however.

[Zhvaniya] In April of 1988 we founded the Ecology Association under the All-Georgian Rustaveli Society. It

was headed by Georgiy Tumanishvili, professor and corresponding member of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. He is its president to this day, but the association is only a part of our organization. It united everyone actively opposing construction of the main line. Our first act was to demand that construction of the Trialeti Waterline be abandoned. Incidentally, many people probably recall that we scientifically substantiated our position and discussed all of the pros and cons before the broad public.

[Akhalkatsi] Then it was an association uniting specialists? As I understand it, you have no political demands. Is that correct?

[Zhvaniya] No, we are a scientific association of professionals. We announced at the very beginning that we are a public-political organization established for purposes of protecting the society's interests in matters of environmental protection. The establishment of the Greens Movement was approved at our first conference, held in December of last year.

Today Georgia's Greens are a free public-political organization with around 6,000 members. Their basic principles are ecological safety, democracy and nonviolence.

[Akhalkatsi] Zurab, you consider the case of the KhudoniGES to be a graphic illustration of your organization's operational methods. Describe it in detail.

[Zhvaniya] I shall never forget a statement tossed out by one of the authors of the KhudoniGES plan. He said that he would not change a single feature of the plan even if God himself were to descend from the sky. Our specialists developed an entire concept which scientifically substantiated our opinion on the inadmissibility of building the Inguri series of hydroelectric power plants, and there were plans for seven or eight of them. We submitted the documents to the republic government, but the people there closed their eyes, stopped up their ears and pretended that we did not exist. We were constantly traveling to Verkhnyaya Svaneti, to Mestia, and talking with the people. They were beside themselves with joy that someone was finally taking an interest in their problems. We attempted to state our position also in the republic press, but not a single newspaper would accept our articles. We were forced to arrange a mass meeting at the Tbilisi Hippodrome. This was on 4 March 1989. I believe that the Georgian government was influenced particularly by the fact that the meeting was organized by Professor Givi Tumanishvili, Academician Merab Aleksidze, Shota Adamiya, director of the Geology Institute, and other well known scientists, and that writer Naira Gelashvili presented a brilliant speech. After that the authorities were forced to give the go-ahead for publication in newspapers. A strange situation developed, however. The articles appeared in the newspapers, but construction... moved right along. The residents of Mestia announced a hunger strike. They were subsequently joined by residents of the settlement of Khaishi, and the Ilya Pravednyy Society

continued the action. The hunger strike continued until Georgia's government suspended the construction. And so, we use all possible forms of protest. And, as you can see, the Greens Movement is more than just a nature-protection organization.

Greens exist in almost all the European nations and are members of parliament in 15.

[Akhalkatsi] Zurab, what is the political program of Georgia's Greens?

[Zhvaniya] We reject the revolutionary path of development for the society, since we believe that revolutionary reforms are limited only to the changing of the people involved. The goal is radical alteration of the existing system, and it can only be achieved through a progressive, intensive evolutionary process. We believe that the ultimate resolution of all the problems is possible only after full restoration of state independence. Georgia will continue actively to participate in the process of political and economic cooperation throughout the world, but it must always exist independently, in a situation of real equality. I particularly want to stress the fact that those problems which trouble the republic's non-Georgian population can be resolved only in a situation of Georgia's independence. This means that promoting the achievement of this goal is first of all in their own interest. And until this occurs, the constant inciting of inter-ethnic clashes will continue. After all, this plays into the hands of those with an interest in preserving the imperial system at the expense of Georgia's residents. It is our view that we must create new associations of free people, each member of which recognizes his personal responsibility.

[Akhalkatsi] It is my understanding that you are establishing contacts with Greens from other nations....

[Zhvaniya] Yes, I visited the FRG last year at the invitation of the Greens, and we recently returned from Sweden, where we took part in a conference on the subject "Greens in Parliament." It was devoted to working out a single parliamentary policy for the Greens. A special parliamentary commission will arrive in Tbilisi in May. It includes members of the parliaments of the European states and the Europarlament in Strasburg. Its purpose is to study the political situation in Georgia. Incidentally, the decision to establish this commission was adopted at the forum in Sweden.

[Akhalkatsi] And the final question. How is your emblem interpreted?

[Zhvaniya] It is an ancient Georgian symbol designating the unity of the sun, fire and motion, and in the final analysis, our entire planet. I believe that it conforms perfectly to our purpose.

KaSSR Environmental Official Scores Bureaucratic Impediments to Ecological Action

90US0658A Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 17 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by Yu. Golobachev, Kustanay Oblast Committee for Environmental Protection department head:
"What the Protocol is Hiding"]

[Text] As one of the duties of my job, I watch the newspaper attentively for publications on environmental protection. I will say frankly that it is offensive that thus far I have seen no serious moves made in this large and important matter of state. And this is at times due not so much to poor instructions and decrees, as the article "The Hunt is on for...a Law" specifically mentions, but to the fact that these laws are developed and signed by people who are themselves sometimes very far from the needs of environmental protection, and who frequently are completely incompetent in these issues. And we, instead of saying: "But the king is naked!", rush blindly to carry out their orders. Something like this has occurred, in my opinion, with the protocol for the temporary demarcation of regulatory functions between the Kazakh SSR State Committee on Environmental Protection [Goskompiroda] and the republic's Ministry of Forestry.

ECOLOGY

This document, as it seems to me, is an extremely rare work of the paper-producing art, capable of decorating a museum of bureaucratism, if such a terribly instructive and useful museum should ever be created. The first point of this document says that government administration of the protection and utilization of the animal world is one of the functions of committees on environmental protection. Everything would seem to be clear, but in reality, these functions as well are performed by the Ministry of Forestry. Which government administration by the committee the document could be talking about is unclear, if the committee does not possess the necessary rights for it. Specifically, the committee does not issue authorizations for the utilization of the animal world, and does not regulate the load on hunting or on usable land for general use. It is clear that this declaration is not supported by actual and functional powers.

I will give an example. Land that is populated by marmot colonies falls into the area being quarried by the Turgay Boxite Mining Administration. The Arkalyk Inter-Regional Hunting Society planned to take 250 of these valuable animals from here last year. The society went to the Kustanay Committee on Environmental Protection for permission. However, the Committee made no decision whatsoever, but sent the request on to the Kustanay Lumber Association, which still has not issued an authorization. It was necessary to shoot the marmots without documentation. They should not become extinct because of our bureaucratic muddles!

Let us read further in the protocol. It is written there that the following functions fall within the competency of the

state committee: monitoring the observation of hunting regulations and the procedures for the exploitation of hunting industry resources and hunting lands; the issuing of sanctions against citizens and institutions, organizations and enterprises for violations of the regulations for utilization of the animal world and the habitats of wild animals according to protocols compiled by environmental protection staff and community inspectors; the creation and administration of the activities of a community environmental protection inspectorate; the issuance, according to established procedure, of authorizations for the utilization of the animal world with the exception of species of hunting industry fauna; conducting government surveys and regulating observation of the established procedure for the state's animal inventory.

What can I say, they are excellent points. Everything would seem to be clear: the basic functions for the protection and rational utilization of the animal world have been transferred to Goskompriroda. However, let us not rush; we will read through the points that set out the functions assigned to the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Forestry. Here they are: it issues, according to established procedure, authorizations (licenses) for the right to utilize hunting industry animals; it organizes the sole state inventory service and register of hunting game and ensures the carrying out of inventories of hunting lands in the Kazakh SSR; it is responsible for government hunting surveillance of the observation of hunting regulations, the war against poaching and other violations of the regulations governing the utilization of the animal world and its habitat, it creates and administers the activities of a community hunting inspectorate; it issues orders according to protocol on violations of the regulations governing the utilization of the animal world and its habitat, issues sanctions against violators of the regulations governing the utilization of the animal world and its habitat.

As you can see from the above, the greater portion of Goskompriroda's rights are covered by the rights of the Ministry of Forestry. True, there is one clever, bureaucratic catch that says that the Committee has everything, while the Ministry of Forestry has only hunting industry animal species. In reality, all this means is that the Committee only has power over species that have been entered in the Red Book, which cannot be hunted, and for which authorization is given only in special cases. The Ministry of Forestry, then, has power over all of the others.

Next question. Nor will you catch the difference immediately between "conducting government surveys and regulating observation of the established procedure for the state's animal inventory" (the Committee), and "organizes the sole state inventory service and register of hunting game" (the Ministry of Forestry). Here the activities of the Committee are once again limited by the Red Book, while the Ministry of Forestry is responsible only for hunting industry animals. One may ask, but where are the animals that have been entered in the Red

Book, on Mars? Or has someone already found a way to keep these species from inhabiting areas that have been placed under Ministry of Forestry jurisdiction?

Further. The issuance of sanctions against citizens and organizations for violating the regulations governing the utilization of the animal world has been allotted to the Committee, while conducting government hunting surveillance of the observation of hunting regulations and issuing decrees went to the Ministry of Forestry. It turns out that both the Committee and the Ministry of Forestry are regulating the correct utilization of the animal world. The completely cosmetic difference lies in the fact that on almost all of the points, the Ministry of Forestry is called "government," while according to the protocol, it is very difficult to understand whether the Committee is government or community. It is important that both create departments for the protection of the animal world. Both of them, naturally, are concerned with the battle against poaching, and both possess the right to create their own community inspectorates. This sort of redundancy must be good for someone, but it is not good for the flora and fauna, as the incident of the Arkalyk marmot resettling has convincingly demonstrated.

In connection with this, one begins to doubt the wisdom of the measures being taken to liquidate the Kazakh Main Hunting Administration [Kazglavokhota]. In my opinion, this was an organ endowed with enough powers to resolve these problems correctly. But it no longer exists; its workers and material and technical means have been taken and distributed between two departments. So far, this action has been the cause of more negative than positive situations in the aktiv. I will say, simply, that as a result of this split, protection of the animal world has been weakened significantly, a fact which is reflected directly in flare-ups of poaching.

I am ready to accept reprimands for my alleged attempts to defend the old structures or to win greater rights for Goskompriroda, where I now work. I will answer in advance that in this case, I am being led by my anxiety and worry for our mutual concern, the protection of the environment. I am certain that this is obvious to any non-prejudiced eye. I have worked for almost eight years in the environmental protection system. In this time, I have detained nearly 800 poachers and violators of hunting regulations. From my own experience, I know what kind of an enormous social evil this is, and how difficult it is to fight. Even more so, under today's disjointed and muddled conditions, which are not being eliminated, but are, on the contrary, being multiplied by this type of—with your permission—document.

How can any kind of effective protection of the animal world even be considered, when the chairman of the Kazakh SSR Goskompriroda himself, Comrade A. P. Korotkov, feels that the workers of the Committee that has been entrusted to him should not be the ones to run around catching poachers. If they don't want us running around, at least one powerful organ for the protection

and rational utilization of the animal world must be created. Kazglavokhota could even be resurrected, as a department of Goskompriroda. I know that Glavokhota's reputation was "soiled" by a series of its former administrators. However, I do not understand why those whose business it was did not notice that this organ, in the last few years, had begun reliably and surely to get to its feet again, and to acquire authority.

But they threw out this hope-inspiring "infant" with the muddy water that had accumulated over the long stagnant years. In its place, they have managed to create a mass of organizational and juridical contradictions. While there was one, shall we say, legislator for these issues before, now there are five. After all, besides Goskompriroda and the Ministry of Forestry, there are Kazokhotrybolovsoyuz [Kazakh SSR Hunting and Fishing Union], Minmestprom [Ministry of Local Industry] and Kazpotrebsoyuz [Kazakh SSR Consumer Union] functioning in the same area, with their own hunters and stalkers. But at times they don't know whom to turn to, even with the protocols aimed at poachers. I am not even touching upon the more complex issues, the solutions of which, during a period of such confusion, often find themselves at a dead end, thanks to the multitude of departmental barriers and bureaucracy from which we in environmental protection are not only not free, but which, on the contrary, is creating all of the preconditions for new obstacles. And the environment is like the child with seven nannies who, all the same, is left uncared for.

Reymers on Environmental Policies, Work of Ecological Union

90US0658B Moscow SOBESEDNIK in Russian No 3, Jan 90 p 9

[Interview by Maryana Makarova: "We Will Be Saved By...the Hopelessness of the Situation: How Doctor of Biology Nikolay Fedorovich Reymers Views the Country's Ecological Situation"]

[Text] ...At the end of the fifties, when the wished-for "thaw" had come to many sciences, ecology was not rehabilitated. In one of his speeches, N. S. Khrushchev announced: "An ecologist is a healthy guy in boots who lies behind a hummock with binoculars and watches a squirrel eat nuts. We can manage quite well without these bums." N. F. Reymers was at that time working in Irkutsk, at the Institute of Siberian and Far Eastern Geography, when he came to understand that here, as well, there was no need for ecologists...

Years passed... Nikolay Fedorovich managed to receive an education in sociology, and has worked at the Central Institute of Economics and Mathematics for 16 years; occasionally, he is cited in specialized literature as an economist. But, all the same, he has not given up ecology.

[Correspondent] Nikolay Fedorovich, has ecology as a science always been unlucky in Russia?

[Reymers] As an independent branch of knowledge (a living thing's view, man's included, of his surrounding environment and his interaction with his environment) ecology made itself known in the last century through the works of Western scholars. At that time, Nikolay Severtsev had laid the foundations for an ecology of animals in Russia, and the science could have developed with some success, if the entire first generation of Russian ecologists had not been wiped out in 1932. Our great scholar, the forefather of the modern concept of wildlife preserves, Professor Kozhevnikov, received notice on cheap cigar [papirosa] paper that his services were no longer necessary to Moscow University. By 1948, Professor Formozov's Mendeliens and Morganists had been taken away, dealing the final blow to the old generation.

The last few decades have also presented many obstacles. In 1970, the so-called "group of seven," of which I was a member, prepared a report for the higher organs on the country's ecological situation. As a result, a resolution was adopted that restricted in the future all materials on ecology, including that report. Supposedly, they even took the carbon paper away from the secretaries who typed it.

But after a year the situation changed suddenly. He, who up until recently had considered ecological problems a peculiarity of the bourgeois world, began to call them our, socialist, problems. Since then there has been a slow reanimation of the science of ecology...

[Correspondent] Which will probably last longer than just one year, as our experience with the "disfavored" sciences—genetics, cybernetics and others—has shown? Is it because of this that we should speak of the new generation of our own ecologists in the future tense?

[Reymers] This may be an exaggeration, but the joke is still being told: you can count our ecologists on one hand without taking your mittens off. Now, the first ecology department in the country has appeared at Kazan University. But in order to prepare students, you need professors. And there are none.

Last year, when the opening of an ecology section at the Academy of Sciences was being discussed, the academicians began to contend that everyone should be concerned with ecology, and distributed the money that had been allotted for the section among their own institutes.

[Correspondent] The understanding of "pure" science is fairly conditional, especially today. It is impossible not to notice the connections between ecology and politics and economy. We even call the Aral and Caspian problems first of all socio-economic.

[Reymers] For a long time it was suggested that ecology and economy were located at different poles. In the end, it became necessary to admit that this idea was wrong. Now, it is a secret to no one that in many developed countries a goal-oriented ecological policy is being pushed to the fore, with the purpose of limiting pressure on the biosphere.

[Correspondent] Is the assertion fair, in your opinion, that the lower the standard of living, the worse ecological problems are?

[Reymers] Indeed, in countries where poverty reigns, people forget about ecology. Then, as the national income increases, many people begin talking about it, and at the third stage they are already doing something about it. In practice, it looks like this. In India, which is on the brink of ecological catastrophe, people are still saying very little about it. In China, they are only beginning to talk about it. In our country, people are now saying a lot.

Because it is possible for harmful substances to be carried across borders, the developed countries are concerned that they not suffer from countries in worse ecological situations. For example, our plants on the Kolskiy Peninsula worry the Finns a lot, and they are even prepared to give us aid.

[Correspondent] A few months ago, our representative to an international inter-governmental meeting suggested mutual ecological monitoring. Are we ready for this sort of step?

[Reymers] In my opinion, our country is in such a condition that we are ready for anything. But is it really a matter of monitoring? It is time to act.

[Correspondent] The Law on Environmental Protection is now being prepared in the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the draft of a Law on Private Property is being discussed. Many specialists and deputies feel that these measures will give serious incentive in the ecological problems...

[Reymers] To paraphrase Pushkin, I will say that there are no laws for Russia. We have a wonderful RFSFR Law on Environmental Protection, but it has never been used by anyone...

[Correspondent] On the government level, our ecological interests are supposed to be protected by the USSR State Committee on Environmental Protection [Goskompriroda], which was created a year ago. Is it possible that it will be able to oppose departmental monopolism?

[Reymers] For almost 70 years the public has talked about the necessity of this sort of all-union organ, but when it was created, people suddenly realized that it was just one more bureaucracy, and one deprived of any sort of decisive rights at that. The fine for polluting is, under our conditions, just an administrative coercive measure, not an economic one. We must introduce payment for the use of natural resources. But Goskompriroda is not a legal person, and is unable to collect payment in the government's name. In the same way, there is no single chain of ecological regulation. If the matter continues to move in this direction, it will be difficult to expect any sort of positive effect from the Committee, no matter who is working there.

[Correspondent] Lately, there has been a literal explosion of community activism concerning our own ecological problems. People are already not just talking a lot; they are picketing and boycotting, they are organizing politically—now we have our own "greens." How do you, as a professional, feel about this?

[Reymers] I am very calm about this. Today, the community ecological movement is much like grape juice: just as likely as it could become good wine, it could turn into vinegar. Of course, people definitely should have the opportunity to express their concern. It is bad that they are starting to quarrel with each other, and to set up spheres of influence, as if they had different goals.

In the West, also, there was a stage of youthful uproar and attractive slogans. Then there was a period of gradual consolidation and mutual understanding of the problems. The third stage was when they realized that an uncoordinated movement was not capable of achieving success. It was then that the "green" parties arose, which have been able to develop positive programs and to participate actively in parliamentary functions.

[Correspondent] The USSR Ecological Union has been in existence for almost a year, and you are chairman of its bureau. What place does the Eco-Union plan to occupy among the multitude of analogous organizations, associations, and societies?

[Reymers] We are attempting to start from the third stage, to unite those collectives and those people for whom a high level of professionalism in the solution of ecological problems is important. Our motto is—fewer emotions, more concrete actions. Institutions, ministries and departments cannot be members of the Eco-Union, but they are permitted to take part in its activities on condition that they observe the principle that "Plato is my friend, but truth to me is dearer."

Unfortunately, we have been waiting for our *de jure* appearance for too long, so we are only now getting into a working mode. How work will go in the future will depend on many conditions, including the popularity or unpopularity of our actions. Today, we have twelve projects for various general ecological problems, for example, some that are energy-related, and the ecological catastrophe zones—Central Asia, the Black Sea, Katun. The Eco-Union does not pursue commercial goals, although in order to implement the projects, the creation of economic accounting [khozraschet] scientific production complexes and cooperative associations has been proposed. By local request, we can apply our ecological expertise and express our opinions in, for example, the periodical bulletin TOCHKA ZRENIYA EKOSOYUZA [The Eco-Union's Point of View].

[Correspondent] At the end of our conversation I would like to take advantage of your gift for scientific fortune-telling. Already today, according to the statistics of Western researchers, 500 million victims of ecological catastrophes have been counted. What awaits us?

[Reymers] I place myself in the sly category of optimistic pessimists and pessimistic optimists. We have, essentially, no choice, because only one choice out of the two is possible: either we improve the situation radically, or we cease to exist as a civilization. But we all want to live...

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Decree on Accountability for Ecological Damages

90US0560A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
21 Jan 90 p 3

[Decree of the Presidium of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet: "On Accountability for Violating the Requirements for Improving the Ecological Environment in the Ukrainian SSR"]

[Text] With the goal of creating the necessary conditions for improving the ecological environment in the republic, the matter of safeguarding the health of the population, and keeping it informed as to the state of its surrounding milieu, and taking into consideration the suggestions of the laboring and scientific public on this issue, the Presidium of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To establish that information about the ecological, including the radiation, situation in the UkSSR, which is related to the pollution of the earth, water resources, atmospheric air, and food products and has a negative impact on the health of people and the plant and animal world, as well as about the morbidity rate in rayons with elevated ecological danger, is subject to mandatory circulation. The organs empowered with state control for the protection and exploitation of natural resources and the health care organs are required to publish the above-cited information in republic and oblast newspapers and to broadcast them over radio and television. The procedure and schedule for circulating this information is to be determined by the UkSSR Soviet of Ministers.

2. Concealment or intentional distortion by public servants of information about the state of the ecological, including the radiation, environment, which is related to the pollution of the earth, water resources, atmospheric air, and food products and has a negative impact on the health of humans and the plant and animal world, as well as about the morbidity rate in rayons with elevated ecological danger shall be punished by correctional labor for a term of up to one year or by a fine in the amount of between one hundred and four hundred rubles. The same action committed repeatedly or causing significant harm to human health or entailing other grave consequences shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for up to three years or correctional labor for a term of between one and two years, with the deprivation of the right to hold certain positions for a period of up to three years.

3. To establish that violating the requirements of radiation safety procedures in a specially demarcated zone of radiation pollution, as by penetrating this zone without

permission from the appropriate organs or unauthorized settlement in it, or the destroying, damaging, or moving signs of radiation pollution or obstructing the indicated zone, or carrying or hauling out of it without the proper authorization building materials, fruits, berries, mushrooms, other food products, household goods or other objects shall entail a fine against citizens in the amount of between thirty and fifty rubles with confiscation of said objects and against public servants of between fifty and one hundred rubles. Objects taken out of this zone by public servants are subject to removal. Objects confiscated and removed in accordance with the present Decree are to be destroyed in the established procedure. The protocols regarding the violations envisaged by the present article shall be compiled by the appropriate public servants in the organs of internal affairs. Cases of the indicated legal violations are to be examined by people's judges of the rayon (city) people's courts. Upon the pronouncement of the resolution on imposing administrative penalties for unauthorized settlement in a specially demarcated zone of radiation pollution, the judge shall require the violator to leave that zone. The procedure for implementing this requirement shall be determined by the UkSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in conjunction with the UkSSR Ministry of Justice.

4. The production, procurement, or sale of agricultural products containing means for protecting plants, for stimulating their growth, mineral fertilizers, and other chemical preparations in excess of the maximally permitted level of concentration shall entail the imposition of a fine against citizens in the amount of up to fifty rubles and against public servants of up to one hundred rubles. The protocols regarding the indicated legal violations shall be compiled by the appropriately empowered public servants in the organs of state health care and veterinary oversight. Cases of the legal violations envisaged by the present article are to be examined by administrative commissions under the executive committees of the rayon, city, and city rayon soviets of people's deputies. Agricultural production in the instances envisaged by the present article, should it be impossible to utilize it for feeding livestock or other goals, shall be subject to unrecompensed removal from the sovkhozes, kolkhozes, other state and cooperative enterprises and organizations and from citizens and its subsequent destruction in the established procedure.

5. In this connection to introduce changes and additions to the following legislative acts of the UkSSR:

1) In the UkSSR Criminal Code: to add the following content to article 227: "Article 227. Concealment or distortion of information on the status of the ecological environment or the morbidity rate among the population. Concealment or intentional distortion by public servants of information about the state of the ecological, including the radiation, environment, which is related to the pollution of the earth, water resources, atmospheric air, and food products and has a negative impact on the health of people and the plant and animal world, as well as about the morbidity rate in rayons with elevated

ecological danger is to be punished by correctional labor for a term of up to one year or by a fine in the amount of between one hundred and four hundred rubles. The same action committed repeatedly or causing significant harm to human health or entailing other grave consequences is to be punished by deprivation of freedom for up to three years or correctional labor for a term of between one and two years, with the deprivation of the right to hold certain positions for a period of up to three years”;

2) in the UkSSR Criminal-Trial Code: in the first part of article 112 to replace the numbers “226-228” with the numbers “226, 227, 227, 228”;

3) in the UkSSR Code for administrative legal violations (Gazette of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, 1984, supplement to no. 51, art. 1122; 1985, no. 24, art. 553, no. 44, art. 1056; 1986, no. 15, art. 326, no. 27, art. 539, no. 52, art. 1057; 1987, no. 12, art. 226, no. 25, arts. 453, 454, no. 35, art. 674, no. 49, art. 1009; 1988, no. 33, art. 808, no. 52, art. 1184; 1989, no. 19, art. 182, no. 22, art. 236):

a) to supplement the Code with articles 42 and 46 of the following content: “Article 42. The production, procurement, or sale of agricultural products containing chemical preparations in excess of the maximally allowed levels of concentration. The production, procurement, or sale of agricultural products containing means for protecting plants, for stimulating their growth, mineral fertilizers, and other chemical preparations in excess of the maximally permitted level of concentration shall entail the imposition of a fine against citizens in the amount of up to fifty rubles and against public servants of up to one hundred rubles”; “Article 46. Violation of the requirements of radiation safety procedures in a specially demarcated zone of radiation pollution. Violation of the requirements of radiation safety procedures in a specially demarcated zone of radiation pollution as by penetrating this zone without permission by the appropriate organs or unauthorized settlement in it, or destroying, damaging, or moving signs of radiation pollution or obstructing the indicated zone, or carrying or hauling out of it without the proper authorization building materials, fruits, berries, mushrooms, other food products, household goods or other objects shall entail a fine against citizens in the amount of between thirty and fifty rubles with confiscation of those objects and against public servants of between fifty and one hundred rubles”;

b) in part one of article 218 the word and number “article 45” shall be replaced with the word and numbers “articles 42, 45”;

c) in article 221, part two of article 277, and part one of article 294, the word and number “articles 51” shall be replaced with the word and numbers “articles 46, 51”;

d) in part one of article 255: in paragraph two of point 1 the word and number “article 49” shall be replaced with the word and numbers “articles 46, 49”; to supplement point 1 with paragraphs of the following content:

“Organs of state health oversight (article 42); organs of state veterinary oversight (article 42)”;

e) in paragraph two of point 2 of article 313, the word and number “articles 162” shall be replaced with the word and numbers “articles 46, 162.”

Signed V. Shevchenko, Chairman of the Presidium of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet N. Khomenko, Secretary of the Presidium of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Kiev, 19 January 1990

UkSSR: Introduction of ‘Ecological Cost Accounting’ System Proposed

90US0560B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
23 Jan 90 p 2

[Article by V. Mogila, senior lecturer in continuing education for managers and specialists of the UkSSR Transportation Ministry: “Lessons of Self-Financing: What Is the Cost of Our Habitat?”]

[Text] The theme for this article was suggested to the author by a publication in PRAVDA UKRAINY of 13 December of last year, “Not a Step Without the Center?” by Doctor of Economics N. Yermoshenko, whose point was to relate closely the problems of ecology and self-financing.

Today the concept of the vital necessity of making peace with our habitat provokes no doubts. This critical problem cannot be solved merely with emotional appeals to saving our increasingly scarce nature and the traditional conciliatory fines for toxic wastes. Its roots are deep and tied in with production and consumption. There is no doubt that the planting of this slow ecological time bomb, whose mechanism is already ticking loudly, has been connected with the implementation of radical economic reform.

In the Ukraine the problem of protecting nature is especially acute due to the economy’s intensive industrialization and chemicalization. What can a republic preparing to shift over to self-financing and not waiting around for overdue decisions from the center do?

Here there are two approaches: either we are going to continue to pollute our environment further, or we are going to cease this outrage by introducing ECOLOGICAL SELF-FINANCING structured around the objective functions of the law of consumer goods pricing.

The term “ecological self-financing,” evidently, needs some clarification. We know that industrial self-financing came about historically. V. I. Lenin wrote: “...self-financing trusts and enterprises have been instituted precisely so that they might themselves be responsible for not entailing loss.” Since any further economic disregard for the harm inflicted on the biosphere threatens an irreversible ecological blow to the economy

and human health, the concept of "not entailing loss" takes on a wider meaning and special overtones in the economic "kitchen."

We have yet to create a unitary theory of ecological equilibrium for the system of "production-consumption" and the biosphere based on a purely human imperative: whatever is sound ecologically is also sound economically. In many countries of the West the defense of the environment has long been considered a principal national problems. West Germany has been working on the concept of adding an ecological dimension to the market economy and introducing an ecology tax. The government of the Netherlands was sent into resignation in 1989 for not solving the acute problems of environmental protection.

Self-financing itself is related to such concepts as cost, cost-price, price, and profit. Science has gained experience and knowledge in it but has done so at the expense of accounting for the ecological corrective to the concept of production's "not entailing loss." While criticizing capitalism for its ultra-greedy attitude toward nature for the sake of business, our apologists of "developed socialism" have failed to take a timely look at our own ailing nature. Even today the illusion that natural resources are nature's "free gift" to its offspring—to mankind—and that the biosphere can go on being a silent and bottomless repository for toxic wastes has not been completely relegated to the past everywhere.

The paradox is that the very "pricelessness" of nature because its conqueror's great misfortune. The basic motif to the majority of the outrages, defilements, and devastations have been first and foremost that very pricelessness of nature. Only the light and energy of the sun are gifts of nature anymore. For the rest we have to pay, because we know the true cost of natural resources, the cost to nature of engineering and technology, the price of polluting the biosphere. The term "payment for natural resources," which looks more like that traditional-conciliatory fine and bears almost no relation to the law of cost, has turned up in our economic mechanism. An enumeration of natural resources has not been determined, but the "gas of life"—atmospheric oxygen—does not pertain to it. In Donbass, for example, according to the evaluation of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, the annual shortage of oxygen amounts of 130 million tons—the amount of oxygen used by more than 32 million people in the course of a year.

If we evaluate systematically our current economic mechanism, then we see that our production is trapped in a vicious circle of self-deception, and that the profit it creates is often illusory. Today any chemical or metallurgical factory or other enterprise poisoning the habitat returns to society a profit, a part of which goes to the budget. As a result of the pollution of elements of the natural and social environment we now have a complex socioeconomic loss that is made up of the sum of localized losses: the loss from the increased morbidity rate, the losses to industry, to the residential-communal,

agricultural, forest, and water economies. The damage inflicted is dealt with primarily out of the budget.

If we compare the magnitude of the profit factories get from their not undamaging production with the subsequent outlays for liquidating that damage, then we run up against the unprofitability of chemistry and metallurgy. This "movement" of profit in the economic mechanism is uncivilized and destructive in the nearest term. The paradox is that this "movement" is well concealed because it is distributed among the economy's branches. The Health Ministry spends its "own" budgetary means on treating people poisoned by toxic wastes; other ministries on liquidating localized losses in their own branches. Even the UkSSR Gosplan does not define what portion of the expenditures on labor, energy, raw resources, and materials goes to liquidating ecological damage and so it too lands in a vicious circle of illusory profit, of how much outlay will have to be made in the near future.

Where do we begin taking up "ecological self-financing" so as to eliminate the paradoxes of destructive management? Obviously with the cost of natural resources, the cost of loss to the environment, as well as the cost of the goods produced. However, as theory asserts, it remains to a certain extent of an elusive magnitude. Cost is expressed only approximately in money terms. For the sake of saving the environment we must learn how to pinpoint and evaluate in terms of the price of goods our economic relations with nature much more profoundly than by means of fines. In Marx's time, nature was as inexhaustible as shagreen leather. Let us turn to the authorities.

To PRAVDA's question about Marx's working theory of cost, the well-known American economist and Nobel laureate V. V. Leont'yev responded: "In modern-day conditions it has been truncated, since now there are practically no free gifts of nature... Moreover, Marx did not take into consideration expenditures on ecology, which today are an important item in the expenses of many branches." Let us turn to the figures. For each kilogram of manufactured article an average of 100-150 kilograms of natural matter (raw materials, water, timber, atmospheric oxygen) is spent. What remains is largely destructive to biological life. We continue to assert dogmatically: there are things that possess extraordinary value for man but do not possess a cost! These include air, water, land, and forests. Economists cite Marx's theory: "...consumer cost, or good, possesses cost only by virtue of realizing or materializing abstract human labor," and his pronouncement, "...in direct contradiction to the perceptibly crude objectivity of commodity bodies, not a single atom of matter enters into their price." This is absolutely true: man did not create air, water, land, or forest. But they are disappearing and becoming more and more unfit for human life.

Our society rests wholly on water, land, air, forests, and useful minerals. Our health, safety, economy, and well-being depend on our realization of how these fateful resources should be used. Is it sensible under current conditions, when mankind stands on the threshold of the most critical period of development it has ever known, to hide behind the shield of dogmatism and fail to recognize the alternatives of the as yet very few "biosocial economists"? One of them, the Siberian scholar P. G. Odjak, has worked out a practical "economics of loans," which envisages mutual financing and reimbursements for losses with respect to nature. The "nonbioeconomic economists" do not wish to recognize the "noosphere" theory, though. Must we really suffer further ecological blows and leave our descendants a poisoned environment, and that with the outmoded theory about the absence of cost for natural resources? What we need is a creative application, a development of a theory of goods production under conditions of scientific-technical progress and ever-quickenning ecocide, as V. V. Leontyev has done. One of these trends is "ecological self-financing."

The cost of scrubbing equipment that will allow us to make peace with nature, for example, for the poisonous wastes of a metallurgical factory or a TETs, amounts to 30-40 per cent of the cost of the technological equipment. A converter for treating auto emissions is almost one-fifth its cost. We have to pay to make our peace with nature. The question is warranted: how can prices for goods take into account in an integral fashion the ecological corrective—outlays for reproducing natural resources and protecting the environment? These questions are especially pertinent under republic and regional self-financing, but they have yet to be examined anywhere.

In the language of economics, the efficiency of production is evaluated according to three "whales," labor consumption, energy consumption, and materials consumption, the magnitude of which determines the prices for goods. Without control of these, self-financing and resource protection are unthinkable. We call them socially necessary outlays. But outlays for saving the environment are not only equally necessary, they are even more so. We do not, however, have a corresponding evaluative indicator. This could be the fourth "whale" of economics—the ecological consumption of production, and correspondingly of any good. In short, this is a gauge to which the concepts of "more" and "less" expressed in quantitative terms do apply. Its essence is just how much of what (the given natural matter) a specific factory extracts from nature and how much of what it gives back to it in the form of waste per person, area, volume, unit of production. The components of ecological consumption are oxygen consumption, water consumption, land consumption, and so on. Knowing these indicators and valuations for natural resources and for damage to the environment, it would not be hard to determine the level of ecological harm of production and what portion of the socioeconomic loss is contained in the cost-price of the good issued.

Today we have not encountered in a single enterprise's calculation of cost-price the components of ecological consumption as a corrective to the law of the cost of goods production, in which the exploitable natural resources represent a unique (one could say "cosmic") good whose cost is created by expenditures for the "ecological amortization" and current expenditures for the protection of the environment. This is the chief requirement of "noospheric" thinking. The question immediately arises—why should primarily the producers pay for the ecological consumption of production? Let us use the example of matches and scrap metal to clarify.

If we take into account the ecological corrective in the price-setting for a box of matches (outlays for restoration of the forest, toxic wastes in the production of the cardboard and chemical matters, transportation), then that box certainly does not cost one kopek. Ignoring the ecological consumption of production has led to a paradox—it is better to dig deeper into the earth, poison the biosphere, waste more labor on obtaining iron ore and other minerals than to raise the purchase price for scrap metal. After all, the consumer cost for a ton of secondary metal is an order higher than the same cost for the hundreds of tons of ore obtained to smelt that ton. If we reexamine our thinking we can clean our republic of rusting scrap metal, feed the martens, return nature to health, and eliminate eyewash with the procurement of industry's "bread."

The time has come to divide the cost of the ecological consumption of production into two pockets—the "gifts of nature" and the harm to the environment and its protection must be paid for equally by both the goods' producer and consumer. Not everyone agrees with the concept of raising prices for goods; they're not that cheap as it is. Here each of us must, as Gogol liked to say, rise to the occasion. Nondamaging technology must be paid for with hard currency, of which we have practically none. The USSR Ecological Fund, the country's scarce budgetary means, and the traditional fines will scarcely cover the gaping ecological holes.

Here the idea of ecological self-financing brings to mind the inevitability of reevaluating the concept of the "cost-price" of a good. It has to be understood as the "nature-cost-price," where more goes to nature and less to the individual. It is a struggle against consumerism for the sake of survival. There is an alternative to price-based ecological self-financing: an ecological tax on the consumer, for example, on salaries. It has been calculated that for peaceful interaction with nature in the country we need to spend about 100 billion rubles, and in Ukraine 15 billion. Over the last four five-year plans, the state's capital investment for environmental protection came on average to 10 billion rubles. If we set ourselves the task of making peace with nature by the year 2000, then in the 13th and 14th five-year plans WE MUST ALLOT 10 BILLION RUBLES PER ANNUM—as much as for a single five-year period in the past. The sum of the ecological tax for covering the annual environmental outlay amounts to about 7 rubles a month from

the budget of each person working in the national economy, or about 3 per cent of the average monthly pay for the country. Will we be able to rise to the occasion, are we capable of digging up that sum to rescue our common house? Is this policy moral? If not, then what are the other alternatives? I would say only that the majority of people are aware of the noble purpose of the economic tax.

Ecological self-financing is one of the paths that has been obstructed by consumerism and been in a vacuum in the economy. Our republic can clear it up on its own.

This problem must become a subject of examination in the UkSSR Soviet of Ministers' Commission on Scientific-Technical Progress. The concept can be elaborated by the Economics Institute of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences at the request of the republic's State Committee for the Protection of the Environment. Overall, the UkSSR Supreme Soviet can work out and approve a logical republic-level program for ecological self-financing as a component part of the measures involved in the shift to republic self-financing. Signed V. Mogila, Senior Lecturer in Continuing Education for Managers and Specialists, UkSSR Ministry of Transportation.

Russian Writers Protest 'Fascist' Label

90UN1379A Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian No 11, 16 Mar 90 p 2

["Letter From the Secretariat of the RSFSR Writers Union Board: Who is Threatening With the Label Of Fascism?"]

[Text] Russian writers cannot help but be disturbed by the dangerous tendency which, with increasing persistence, is appearing in the words and deeds of certain leaders of unofficial associations who have been attacking Russia and the Russian people with particular fervor. Having looked over the entire available supply of accusations, they have selected the most extreme among them and are attempting to convict the people who saved the world from fascism, of being fascists. This is, as they say, the pot calling the kettle black.

The word "fascism" is ever more frequently and persistently appearing in the mass media and resounding at meetings, and can be heard in arguments in halls where the air is thick with emotional heat. The growing cult of coercion cannot help but give rise to anxiety. No less anxiety is engendered by the fact that the concept fascism is being used in a far-fetched manner and is far from being a condemnation of Hitlerism. On the contrary, the latter has actually been rehabilitated as an opponent of Stalinism. Rumors are being spread that there are going to be pogroms against the Jews, distracting attention from pogroms in Central Asia and the Caucasus, which have already led to hundreds of deaths and hundreds of thousands of refugees. A Jewish-Zionist Congress has been held in Moscow—recall that Zionism has been condemned by the UN as a form of fascism, but the leaders of April, in an open letter addressed to the Politburo, demand reprisals against whomever they are pleased to designate. The demand for reprisals stands in the forefront of all the "anti-fascist noise," and preventative punitive measures both in the outlying regions and in the center of the country are to be directed against Russians. Here is a manifestation of one of the most cynical forms of Russophobia.

One can observe an interesting regularity: ideas are developed in Moscow and then passed along to the republics. The precise synchronizaion of statements is also worthy of note. On 23 October 1989, the economist N.P. Shmelev, who shortly before this had proposed creation of an All-Union Emergency Commission for reprisals against the "enemies of perestroika," declared at a meeting of scientists with M.S. Gorbachev, that "a fascist movement has arisen within the trade unions." (Cf. "ROSSIYA, No 1, 1989). He did not like the meeting in Luzhiki, where he found the calls for using the law against economic crimes (shadow economy) too specific. And he therefore labeled as fascists the workers who demanded that measures be taken to curb organized crime. And again on 23 October, the paper of the Latvian People's Front, ATMODA, published an article by the

Moscow author, M. Leontyev, titled "The New Consensus" under the rubric "The Russian Question," written by the Moscow author, M. Leontyev, which was presented as prescriptive. In it Shmelev's idea is applied to Russian writers and scholars.

The author asserts that in recent months the gradual rapprochement of two seemingly totally irreconcilable trends in social consciousness—conservative nationalism and Stalinist-protectionist national Communism—which started in approximately 1986, has begun to involve rapid consolidation into a single platform. He claims that its representatives not only "sit at a single table at presidia and publish in a cohesive group in the same publications, but also speak a single language, have a single 'symbol of faith,' concepts, and tactics." He associates the first trend with Purishkevich and sees the campaign to preserve monuments of our historical legacy as a pretext for formation of Pamyat cells. The other trend is associated with the cult of Stalin, under which he subsumes both "defense of the ideas of the purity of Marxism and Leninism" and "propaganda in favor of socialist values and achievements."

According to M. Leontyev, both movements have united in support of the "idea of preserving at any price the moral, political, ideological, and territorial 'State,' perceived as some kind of mystical intrinsic good." This idea is based on the preservation and consolidation of 'spiritual values,' on which social stability depends, and which are opposed to the corrupting influence of the West, conspicuous consumption, and social and class polarization."

It is "totally obvious" to M. Leontyev, that the new conception in its ideological content completely coincides with classical, orthodox fascism or national-socialism. He identifies "various structural levels, intended for use with various social groups: the intellectual-technocratic variant for the 'spiritual elite'; the conservative-totalitarian for conservative elements of the old bureaucracy and Stalinist and Afghan war veterans; and the populist and pogrom-chauvinist for the 'masses,' and the marginal elements (Pamyat, iron-pumping thugs [lyubery]...)."

Understanding that the reader may not believe him, M. Leontyev advises him to read various designated (and nondesignated) Russian writers and scholars through a system of distorting mirrors: "Since the dominant polemic device in the journalistic writing of this movement is the lie, the use of their opponents' words concerning their true objectives and motives against them, it is absolutely essential to identify this movement with true fascism. One is compelled to conclude that in this case the author is sharing his own experience, and his own practice and that of those who think as he does, so as to attribute his own sins to others. And we should dwell here on what he calls fascism, since his own colleagues say nothing about it.

M. Leontyev finds the "idea of the state as an intrinsic good," which in his mind "is guided by the resurrection of the Stalinist-Mussolinist system of the hierarchy of interests—"universal-national-group-individual"—to be unacceptable, especially since the last two are often treated as "destructive."

We will not discuss here the issue of the significance of the state for each individual; it should be sufficient to make reference to Hegel's and Marx's ideas concerning the conditions under which the state develops and is realized. But after all some of the most important theoretical principles of fascism are Nietzscheanism, with its extreme individualism that is opposed to the society and the inexorable justification of the "right" to live off others. Individualism irrevocably leads to zoologism, and racism. And both of these are then incorporated into the consciousness, preparing the soil for the acceptance of racist ideas, which, by the way, are completely alien to Russian social thought.

It is scarcely necessary to note that it is only society that has taken man out of the animal kingdom and that without society he would again turn into an animal. Spirituality and morality are social concepts. During all periods and among all peoples, individuals who have elevated the universal good over the personal good have been held in high regard. Religion has called on citizens to sacrifice for the common good, laws have compelled those who want to live off others to restrain their appetites. According to Marx, man is the totality of his social relationships. The realization of M. Leontyev's ideal—the priority of personal and group interests—can easily be seen in the practices of the proliferating Mafia-octopi, speculators, and racketeers, in the tragedy of hundreds of thousands of refugees, and in the disintegration of our social economic system.

Thus, the potential fascists are those very ideas which underlie reasoning such as M. Leontyev's, while his negation of universally accepted norms inexorably leads to lack of principles. Such ideas contain an innate contradiction, which is especially clear in his evaluation of populist movements.

Leontyev fears that given a worsening economic situation, there will be a "drastic increase in populist components," which will be followed by social demagoguery and "mass attacks on 'liberals' and reformers as the ones directly responsible for economic breakdown, intensification of chauvinism and a pogrom-anti-Semitic mood in the spirit of Pamyat." No other "anti's" interest or upset him. But what if the "populist component" takes another direction? Then, obviously, it would be an entirely different matter. In any event, this is how this "component" is misunderstood by those who think like M. Leontyev.

People's deputy S. Stankevich has more than once evaluated "his" Moscow people's front precisely as a "populist movement." He has been decisively supported in this assessment by G. Diligenskiy. Unlike Leontyev,

Diligenskiy objects to attributing a pejorative meaning to the concept of "populism." After all, it is precisely this component that the leaders of the inter-regional deputy group are counting on, and not just Stankevich alone. But he has still not succeeded in "rehabilitating" this concept. He defines populism as the "union of the most heterogeneous political and religious convictions, expressing the sum total of a very broad range of interests and directed against a single common enemy."

This means that the direction of such a "union" is only destructive and not constructive.

Populism does not inexorably lead to fascism, but it creates the psychological basis for it. "The common enemy" for the uninformed masses, is the one being singled out by Leontyev and the members of April—the authors of the open letter—demanding that the authorities take reprisals against those they find it convenient to call "anti-Semites" or "Russian chauvinists." But at the same time they pass off the Russian people to all the other "people's fronts" as "the image of the enemy." The thoroughly Nazi assertion by T. Titmy, secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, to the effect that "there cannot be equality among all ethnic groups on the indigenous land of one nation" is monstrous. And this assertion was preceded by visits from Moscow and speeches by furious fighters against everything Russian. This was precisely the period when, in the Baltic region, praise began to be heard for those who had fought hands against the Soviet Army with rifles in their hand during the Great Patriotic War. And this is what is behind the fantastic article concerning the "purely Lithuanian race" "that is first among the Northern people" that was published in SOGLASIE, the organ of Sajudis (No. 3, 1989). And M. Skruzdel was profoundly correct when he called such Nazi exercises "zoopsychosis" (YEDINSTVO, August 1989, Vilnius). He was also right when he said that, "nationalism has not flared up, it has been kindled."

It has not been kindled in the Baltic region alone. Currently in the TsDL [Central House of Writers] provocations are going on which have as their goal the kindling of Russophobia and distracting the people from the most urgent social/economic, political, and national problems. Some republic "peoples fronts," known by their leaders - populists and participants in economic crimes—have stooped to the cruelest pogroms, robberies, and violence. A wave of true fascism is rising. First and foremost we must stop those who have been the authors of this aggressive scenario and have become the producers of the destruction of a society that has taken centuries to create. In turn, the people must realize that the populist leaders, avidly thirsting for power for their own selfish interests, are ready for any treachery.

We call on our fellow citizens, on all the fraternal peoples of our nation to be vigilant! Fascism must not be allowed to pass, no matter what mask or guise it is wearing.

Secretariat of the RSFSR Writers Union Board

**Writers' Vote on LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
Editor Detailed**

90UN1347A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 13, 28 Mar 90 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Plenum of RSFSR Writers' Union Board"]

[Text] The Seventh Plenum of the RSFSR Writers' Union Board took place on 19-20 March. It had the following agenda: "The Destiny of Multi-National Russia and Contemporary Literature. Discussion of the New Draft Charter of the RSFSR Writers' Union. On Convoking the Next, Seventh Congress of RSFSR Writers."

The report was delivered by N. Shundik, whereas the information on the draft charter of the RSFSR Writers' Union was conveyed by I. Strelkova. Taking part in the discussion were the representatives of writers' organizations from many oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics.

A sharply pointed discussion developed, which revealed not only opinions on the Russian Federation's urgent political, social, and cultural problems, but also group-type passions and penchants, as well as extreme points of view, elements which are not conducive to the consolidation of a writers' organization.

This was also reflected in the plenum's documents—resolutions and appeals—as published in the newspaper LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA. Extremely essential for understanding the atmosphere of the plenum is the statement which was made by S. Mikhalkov, board chairman of the RSFSR Writers' Union, and which he presented to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA for publication in its pages.

With regard to the question raised at the plenum concerning the competency of the secretariat of the USSR Writers' Union Board to confirm the new editor-in-chief of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, let us cite the information presented to our editors by S. Kolovoy, acting secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board:

"Confirmation of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's editor-in-chief was conducted on the basis of Article 14 of the USSR Writers' Union charter, which states the following: 'In the intervals between the board's plenums the Secretariat of the USSR Writers' Union Board shall direct all the ideological-creative and organizational activity of the USSR Writers' Union, as well as the work of its press organs, creative councils, commissions,' etc.

"In accordance with the practice which has evolved, 15-20 secretaries take part in the secretariat's sessions, questions are decided by a simple majority of the votes; moreover, opinions are frequently communicated by telephone or in the form of notes. On this occasion the session was more representative than ever before.

"The voting on candidates for the office of editor-in-chief of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on 15 March yielded the following results:

"The following persons voted for F. Burlatskiy (directly at the secretariat's session or by notes which were conveyed and submitted): Ch. Aymatov, A. Anan'ev, G. Baklanov, S. Baruzdin, G. Borovik, Yu. Verchenko, A. Voznesenskiy, Yu. Voronov, R. Gamzatov, Ye. Yevtushenko, A. Dement'ev, Yu. Drunin, M. Dudin, S. Zalygin, V. Karpov, M. Kanoat, V. Korotich, Yu. Mushketik, P. Nikolayev, D. Pavlychko, Ya. Peters, R. Rozhdestvenskiy, V. Rozov, A. Salynskiy, Ye. Sidorov, O. Suleymenov, Yu. Surovtsev, A. Chakovskiy, Yu. Chernichenko, and I. Chobanu. This makes 30 persons in all. Furthermore, during the initial consideration of the matter of an editor-in-chief for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (6 March) the following persons announced themselves 'in favor' of F. Burlatskiy: V. Bykov, D. Granin, and B. Oleynik, whereas S. Mikhalkov and G. Tsitsishvili informed the session that they would add their own votes to the majority—that is, for F. Burlatskiy.

"Voting (either directly or by notes which were conveyed and submitted) for the candidacy of A. Prokhanov were the following persons: N. Gribachev, An. Ivanov, Ye. Isayev, V. Krupin, P. Proskurin, and I. Stadnyuk (6). The following persons abstained from voting: M. Alekseyev, Yu. Bondarev, N. Gorbachev, Yu. Gribov, T. Minullin, Al. Mikhaylov, V. Rasputin, and K. Skvortsov (8).

"Thus, the confirmation of the new editor-in-chief of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA proceeded in full accordance with the existing charter of the USSR Writers' Union, on an alternative basis. Casting their votes for F. Burlatskiy were 35 of the 49 secretaries who took part in deciding this matter."

Statement by Sergey Mikhalkov

"Nowadays there is an antagonism between extreme points of view. In the writers' organizations of Moscow and Leningrad, in a mad turmoil of arrogant, overweening ambition and a bitterness in human as well as professional relations, in the clash of group-type priorities and the far-from creative devices of self-assertiveness, and in the struggle for power, we are forgetting what we exist for—literature itself.

"Most of the board's secretaries who were elected at the Sixth Congress of the RSFSR Writers' Union have recently been completely isolating themselves from participation in the secretariat's work. They have, so to speak, abrogated their own responsibility for what is happening in the Russian Writers' Union. But, after all, their public duty is to render assistance in solving the problems which continually arise. Particularly noticeable is the loss of interest toward our common work on

the part of those secretaries representing the autonomous republics; these are persons who always used to be our loyal supporters and active fellow-participants in all our decisions.

"Such a phenomenon cannot be considered as normal.

"For 25 years I have headed up the secretariat of the Russian Writers' Union Board. No matter how difficult my years at the helm of the RSFSR Writers' Union were, multi-lingual Russian literature lived and broke through the dam of recommendations and directives like a vital young sprout breaking through the gray asphalt, as it strives to find its way to the light.

"And, of course, during those years, during this period, there were all kinds of things to contend with! There were people who were insulted and those who were dissatisfied, but I hope that there are more of those who have a kind word to say for our union. I know that here among you there are some literary persons who do not like me too much. Well, so what! The great Bunin's father once said: 'I'm not a ten-ruble banknote that everyone likes.' But, nevertheless, I have tried as best I could during all these two decades to maintain a middle course, one without which cooperation among the literatures of our Russia is impossible.

"In the words of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, it is hardest of all to draw a middle line of social development: one does not have the help, as in the remoter areas, of throats, fists, bombs, or iron bars. A middle line requires the greatest self-mastery, firm courage, prudent patience, and precise knowledge.

"Have I succeeded in following this wise advice? Probably not. But I can honestly say, and there are quite a few witnesses here to back me up in this, that I have never joined any literary grouping or clique, nor, all the more so, any political faction. And I have never been guided by any extreme points of view. That has been my stance, and it still is!

"In the situation which has been created I see no more possibilities for me to carry out the duties of chairman of the RSFSR Writers' Union Board. Guided by common sense, therefore, I have decided to lay down my powers of this office. I now have the desire to carry out certain plans and projects which have finally matured during the time which I have spent in presidiums. I do not know whether my comrades in the Russian writers' organization will understand me, but I am confident that Russian children will understand me. They have have been waiting for a long time for me to make this decision. Now is the time for me to take these steps!

"I propose that this matter be resolved calmly, without any hullabaloo or sensationalism. Inasmuch as the Seventh Congress, in one way or another, will elect a new chairman, I suggest that it would be feasible to accept my decision and entrust Yu. Bondarev with the task of

preparing for the congress in the capacity of a fully-empowered chairman. He has served for 20 years as one of my deputies, and that is enough."

After agreeing with the arguments and reasons given by Yu. Bondarev, the plenum refused to accept S. Mikhalkov's resignation.

IZVESTIYA Rebuts RSFSR Writers' Criticism

90UN1395A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by V. Malukhin: "Something To Wrap Fish In: A Few Comments On The Press Conference In The RSFSR Union of Writers"]

[Text] The officially stated purpose of the meeting was to discuss the results of the recent seventh plenary session of the board of Russian writers, which IZVESTIYA reported exactly one week ago (No 82, 1990). However, the questions, which initially flowed in the normal direction, from the hall to the presidium, were soon decidedly reversed, as the offensive vigor of the writers' secretariat essentially took the form of an attempt to put the press on trial. Not every press outlet, of course—only those that dare to express their own opinions about the processes taking place in the "chief's house," as long-time Moscow residents still call the residence on Komsomol Prospekt that houses the headquarters of the Russian Union of Writers.

And so the highest mark on the "chief's" scale went to the newspaper "SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA", which presented the recent plenary session of the RSFSR Union of Writers Board as all but a literary salon of bygone days. PRAVDA got a somewhat lower rating, for its tendency to "bring the shores closer together," as it was put at the press conference. And, finally, the outright fiend of glasnost was the newspaper IZVESTIYA. The offensive tone to which Yu. Bondarev deemed it possible to resort left two correspondents for the newspaper quite convinced that an attempt was being made to provoke them.

Apparently, such press conferences are becoming a tradition there. I still remembers the previous encounter with journalists; those who wrote about it unanimously chose has its symbol a fist extended for a handshake (IZVESTIYA, No 45, 1990).

Is chronic intolerance the only cause of this situation? It seems there are other reasons as well. The complaint was lodged at the press conference that the press had changed tactics: Whereas it used to "slander the RSFSR Union of Writers," now it is deliberately keeping silent about the activities of the Russian union's board. This is why the press conference, a dull one that contained no new information, unexpectedly and inexplicably worked itself up into hysterics in its final minutes, and why the hitherto very moderate and quite correct criticism of IZVESTIYA suddenly took on discordant forms of abuse. The impression persists that this turn of events became something like a long-awaited gulp of ozone or

refreshing shower for both the presidium and some of those in the hall: For once they were treated not to boring clarifications of positions and a fruitless search for mutual understanding but to a real event. Action!

Even the most rabid duellist would envy the ingenuity of our writers in their search for a target for yet another scandalous occurrence. But the question arises: Are certain of the Russian Union of Writers' present leaders capable of leading a full-fledged existence and of honestly affirming themselves and attracting interest in themselves outside the atmosphere they have incited. Yu. Prokushev observed enviously at the press conference that V. Krupin, unlike other Russian writers, can express his views in virtually any press organ, up to an including LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. I think that if Yu. Prokushev were to try to figure out for himself, out of natural curiosity, the reason for this situation, he wouldn't have Krupin or the press to blame.

Indeed, a thankless but instructive job would be undertaken by the critic who might try to use specific examples to establish a correlation among stirrings of such "public" service, growing political ambition, the ascent of administrative Olympus, and a decline in purely artistic merit. At the very beginning of the current "civil war in literature," one astute person remarked that "a struggle is being waged for the right to write badly." Today this has become a struggle to expand the network of "one's own" publications in which to reproduce one's writings, as evidenced by the "crusades" against the journal OKTYABR and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. As if there were even one editorial board that would refuse to publish a truly talented work only because it was written by the "wrong" author. But such propositions ignore another point: Is there any time for belles lettres when all one's energy is devoted to other passions, other struggles?

In such a situation, naturally, there is no enemy worse than glasnost. At the press conference, the comments published in IZVESTIYA about the seventh plenary session of the RSFSR Union of Writers Board served as a kind of obsession for all the speakers. "There is not one word of truth here," said Yu. Bondarev. "The author lied from the first line to the last. Prokhanov's speech is turned completely on its head, as are the speeches by Krupin, Bondarev, and so on and so forth. Even Mikhalkov was not presented in the light he should have been. True, all the other speakers admitted that the incidents cited in the article did indeed take place, regrettably. Only their public disclosure gave rise to discontent. As S. Mikhalkov explained in a simple fashion, 'a person who spoke at the podium later reads the stenographic record of what he said, and he sees that it is hard even for him to correct it, because it has to be published, and he himself understands that, considering some of the things he said, he doesn't want to correct it. And so he says, 'it's not necessary, I'm not going to publish it.' That's normal." Risking yet another accusation that Sergey Vladimirovich, whom I have again quoted verbatim, will be presented "not in the light in

which he should have been," I submit that this is by no means normal. For at issue is, in the first place, not just anyone but a writer, a person who should know the value and weight of his statements, and second, a writer who dabbles in politics [vyglyadit v politiki], an area where words carry an especially great deal of weight.

Needless to say, the very fact of IZVESTIYA's publication of a documentary record of what really happened at the plenary session put the RSFSR Union of Writers Board Secretariat, which edited the stenographic record for the press, in a difficult position: It could not opt not to publish what had already become a matter of public record; at the same time, publishing it would not be to its advantageous, and perhaps even shameful. Hence the aggressiveness and complaints like "the press is doing a hatchet job on us" [plokho rabotayet na nas] and, where IZVESTIYA is concerned, that newspaper has "closed the doors of truth and veracity forever." A correspondent for SOVETSKAYA KULTURA who attended the press conference asked: "Aren't you afraid that the insulting comments about IZVESTIYA, after they are made public, will become one of the very kinds of unhealthy sensations that you are accusing the mass media of creating?" To which the presidium had a ready response: "But you're not going to write about that!" It was fully in keeping with the spirit of the stenographic record of the proceedings...

No, this must be told. And such things as rudeness, undue familiarity, animosity, smugness, and rejection of criticism must be called by their proper names. And it must be said that, in a gathering of people who speak of themselves as the "last bastion that wants to keep the political situation in Russia in balance," rallies of the worst kind, with their characteristic unceremoniousness and irresponsibility, are at the very least inappropriate. At the same time, I know that the 10 million families that receive IZVESTIYA do not deserve to be regaled with quotes like the one I'm about to cite; I know that, were these words never to be printed on IZVESTIYA's presses, they would be lost in the pages of the RSFSR Union of Writers' departmental press; I am also aware of the fact that the "heroes" of certain circles like least of all to show to the general public precisely those of their qualities that account for their standing among those who hold similar views.

In short, the excerpt from the speech at the press conference by Yu. Bondarev, who, after promising to use "milder, parliamentary words," failed to keep that higher commitment, changed his tone and ended with the following: "In perhaps the past two to three years, I don't remember a single serious article, to speak of our Union of Writers or of literature in general, that contained even a fragment of the shattered mirror of truth. I see a crude tendency everywhere. A crude, undisguised, cynical tendency that is just barely covered by a kind of journalistic flair. And generally speaking, I would advise that the newspaper not be sold near fish markets, because any self-respecting fish would fight to his last breath to keep from being wrapped up in that stinking

newspaper." This was said about IZVESTIYA, which has not overlooked a single significant event in our spiritual life and which has a reputation among the creative intelligentsia as a newspaper that is objective, exacting, and honest. Apparently, Yu. Bondarev's words can also be put down to [otnesti na svoy sset] his writing colleagues, to whom IZVESTIYA has often made its pages available. So let the ichthyological incident remain entirely on his conscience.

What more is there to say? I fear that the secretariat of the Russian writers' organization board runs the risk of stewing in its own juice, because journalists who respect themselves and their publications are going to stop attending press conferences in the "chief's house" altogether.

And in conclusion, a final quote, from A. Prokhanov's remarks at the press conference, remarks that concerned another matter and were made prior to Yu. Bondarev's anti-IZVESTIYA benefit performance: "Russia still lacks an intellectual elite of its own, still lacks a powerful spiritual and intellectual potential of its own, a potential it lost in the tragedies of this century... I submit that many of our troubles stem from the fact that there are no major statesmen or major religious leaders in Russia."

I categorically disagree with that claim—above all as a Russian. And for that same reason I am utterly disinclined to equate Russia with the Secretariat of the RSFSR Union of Writers Board.

April Group On Draft Writers Union Statute
90UN1408A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 14, 4 Apr 90 p 7

[Article by Organizing Committee for April Writers Association All-Union Congress: "'April' To Convene In April"]

[Text] The Moscow April association is one year old. The movement of writers in support of perestroika is gaining strength. Many writers, cultural workers, and artists who live in the most varied cities of the country are expressing a desire to participate in it.

This is dictated by the urgent need to turn April into an all-union, independent creative organization that has the rights of a juridical person within the USSR Union of Writers. To this end, April plans to hold an all-union founding congress in late April, and an organizing committee set up to prepare for the congress is drawing up April's platform and statutes. Unfortunately, the newspaper LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA rushed to publish the text of our platform, even though April had given the newspaper no documents for publication. In no way renouncing a single one of the principles formulated in the text of our platform as published in LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, we must state the following.

The organizing committee continues to work on the development and deepening of the provisions contained

in the platform. We are forced to do this, among other things, by the rapidly changing political situation in the country, as well as by official measures and statements of the leadership of the RSFSR Union of Writers that we cannot ignore. They show that there exist in the RSFSR Union of Writers certain forces that seek to turn the creative organization of Russian writers into a political party.

In view of the fact that the text of the platform has already been published in LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA and in the just-published first edition of the bulletin APREL-INFORM, we do not consider it expedient to publish it once more. We will quote just one paragraph, which was absent in the published version.

While deploring all forms of incitement of interethnic strife, we consider the charges of "Russophobia" that have been leveled against many publications and radio and television to be especially dangerous. The ever-increasing cultivation of this idea in the mass consciousness threatens our country with countless disasters, since the sinister myth of "Russophobia" is designed to foster a feeling of national injury and resentment among the great nation that accounts for the majority of the USSR's population.

We consider another document that concerns the writers' federation statutes to be no less important than the platform. We consider it necessary to publish this document since, while intending to become an independent creative association, April envisions itself within the framework of the USSR Union of Writers, and we would not like April's future statutes to prove incompatible with the future statutes of the USSR Union of Writers. We hope that the publication of this document will not only promote preparations for our founding congress, but also make it possible to dispel the rumors and prejudices that are being deliberately fostered around April by its opponents.

On the Statute Principles of the Writers' Federation. The statute principles of April itself cannot be formulated apart from the principles of the USSR Union of Writers' new statutes, which are to be confirmed by the next all-union congress of writers.

The second version of the draft of those statutes has now been published and is being actively discussed in writers' organizations. This version is undoubtedly a substantial step forward in comparison with the first version. Now the statutes have been freed of the ideological scholasticism linked with the dogmas of "socialist realism," and most importantly, an extremely important point has appeared in it: "Members of the USSR Union of Writers have the right to form various creative associations that link them by genre, creative positions, styles, and other characteristics and interests. Creative associations, being free public organizations...have the right to formulate provisions on which they will base their work."

Naturally, we welcome this article of the draft: April has essentially become the first such association, having

arisen long before the proposed provision of the statutes. We even venture to think that, by the very fact of its existence, *Aprel* has promoted the tendencies of new thinking to be observed in the USSR Union of Writers Secretariat.

At the same time, *Aprel's* statute principles will no doubt differ substantially from the proposed draft on a whole series of points. And since *Aprel* by no means strives for separatism and schism, but for a genuine *perestroyka* of the work of the Union of Writers in keeping with our common interests and the spirit of the times, it is necessary to discuss this difference in detail.

The chief objection to the draft statutes stems from the fact that the aforementioned Article 20 has not become a point of departure, a determining link in the new organizational structure, but is inserted in a more or less perfunctory fashion into the old scheme, which is preserved intact. Meanwhile, from our point of view, that article is of tremendous importance, and it demands completely different principles on which to base the USSR Union of Writers.

First, it must become an association of not only republic writers' unions (Article 1), but also of free creative associations of writers that have—provided they have a certain number of members—the same rights as these unions (the right of admission, the right of proportional representation in all elective bodies, the right to independent publications, and so forth).

In other words, the question is one of a return—with corrections based on the organizational and practical experience of the recent past, of course—to the democratic structure of the literary process of the 1920s, when there existed independent creative associations and organizations with their own journals, when there existed the Federation of Associations of Soviet Writers (the FASW), and when there existed, incidentally, the All-Russian Union of Writers, which had nothing in common with the rigid administrative-command system that was created in 1934 in order to implement the monopolistic party policy in literature.

Second, the Union of Writers must do away with the customary pyramidal-hierarchical system of electivity and of leadership functioning, a system that copies the worst features of the organizational arrangement of our party and state apparatus. Specifically, it must do away with multistage, indirect elections; the institution of a standing secretariat and a panel of secretaries (a first and other secretaries); the lengthy (up to eight years) terms of office of these secretaries, and so on.

For leadership of the new Union of Writers, it might be fully sufficient to convene a plenum of representatives of its constituent organizations once a year for the purpose of taking joint actions, making coordinating efforts, and defending their common interests in the USSR and

abroad. And between such plenums, it would be sufficient to have a small coordinating council, elected not through multistage but direct elections for no more than one term.

Third, proceeding from the new organizational and structural principles, it is necessary to drastically change the provision regarding the admission of new members to the Union of Writers. Creative associations must themselves have the right of admission, the objective criteria of which must still be devised and be based on the **actual** participation of a **professional** writer in the literary process. The formula that remains in force to this day and holds that union membership is open only to a writer of works of a "high artistic level" essentially legitimizes subjectivism in determining that level and the opportunity of "leading bodies" to shape the membership of the Union of Writers as they see fit.

And, finally, a fourth point. The Literary Foundation as a professional union of writers (who are by no means necessarily members of the USSR Union of Writers) must regain its former independence, enhanced by true electivity, *glasnost*, and full accountability of all its structures not to the Union of Writers but to the Literary Foundation's share-holding members.

Needless to say, for the present we are dealing only with the basic principles of the new statutes, not any of the statutes' specific details. But only an orientation toward these principles will prevent *Aprel's* statute provisions from conflicting with the thesis with which Article 20 concludes, and we will indeed be able to "promote to the utmost the Union of Writers' accomplishment of its statute objectives."

USSR Writers Union Resistance to Perestroyka Viewed

90UN1126B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 10, 10-16 Mar 90 p 5

[Interview with V. Lazarev, writer and chief, Historical-Literary Department of the journal *NASHE NASLEDIYE*, by R. Rykova, correspondent: "Metamorphoses of the Literary Department: Who Should Have Literary Authority?"]

[Text] *Perestroyka* in the society has affected all its strata, including the creative intelligentsia. As to how it is proceeding within the USSR Union of Writers, our correspondent R. RYKOVA interviews V. LAZAREV, writer and chief, Historical-Literary Department of the journal *NASHE NASLEDIYE*.

[Correspondent] Nowadays the topic of authority is one of the most widely discussed. And since it did not take long to be refracted in the creative environment, I propose that we begin our conversation by defining literary authority.

[V. Lazarev] I have nothing against that, especially since during the present century some strange metamorphoses

have occurred in the matter of literary authority. At one time it was possessed by Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy—it was an authority of the mind, an authority of artistic genius, and authority gained from seeking after truth and justice. But we have given birth to the following phenomenon: the authority of a literary bureaucrat—a member of the hierarchy on whom the good things of life depend.

When the Union of Writers was headed up by G. Markov, he was not shy about receiving fabulous fees for his own books, as well as state awards in the guise of all possible manner of prizes and orders; he connived at setting up at literary museum to himself during his own lifetime and at admitting members of his own family to the USSR Union of Writers!

[Correspondent] If we continue your line of thought, it was precisely then that the Union of Writers acquired the structure of a literary-arts department....

[V. Lazarev] That had begun earlier. But under Markov and his henchmen a tight fusion occurred between this apparatus and the apparatuses of other bureaucratic organizations and departments. "Needed" persons from these organizations were constantly being drawn into this creative union.

The Union of Writers in the person of G. Markov became the initiator and awardee of the Lenin Prize to L. Brezhnev for "outstanding services" in the field of belles lettres. It was also then that Rashidov's writing "talent" bloomed in all its luxuriance. A. Kovalev, a deputy minister of foreign affairs, was admitted into this creative union (despite a negative decision by the admittance commission).

[Correspondent] Such concepts as talent and its recognition were also deformed. It was not so long ago that ARGUMENTY I FAKTY wrote about this in an article entitled "A Rank or Title...for Obedience." We arrived at the point where an artist's recognition by readers or spectators was replaced by a government award. I cannot imagine that Tolstoy or Chekhov would agree to such a substitution.

Moreover, I'd like to remind you of the words which Aksakov spoke with unconcealed pride: "I was not subjected to awards!" But in somewhat more recent times, specifically during the Chernenko's "rule," that a mass rewarding of writers occurred—involving some 400 persons! It was then that G. Markov became a two-time Hero of Socialist Labor, and Yu. Verchenko—the organizational secretary of the Writers Union—became a Cavalier of the Order of Lenin.

At that time I was engaged in memorial work, and I brought to the Union of Writers Board a list of Russian writers who had been buried in the Vaganovskiy Cemetery. This list contained 70 names, and a request was made that 9 rubles a year be contributed for the upkeep of each grave. But inasmuch as the living had split up the awards among themselves, the dead were forgotten. In 1983, because the Literary Fund, had not provided this

money, the cemetery staff members sold the grave of the outstanding Russian writer, Nikolay Uspenskiy, a cousin of Gleb Uspenskiy.

[Correspondent] By the way, we still know all too little about the power of the Literary Fund and its unseemly role in the fate of many writers. It is a secret of the family of the print media.

[V. Lazarev] But it must be opened up at some time! The Literary Fund's reports are secret, brief, and basically made to the Secretariat of the Writers Union Board. But even nowadays it remains an almost talented and inexhaustible feeding-trough for close-at-hand, hardly capable, gray, and patently ungifted members of the Writers Union. At their services is not only the Literary Fund, but also the obedient publishing houses, foreign commissions with foreign ties and trips abroad as representatives, homes in suburban or exurban dacha settlements. The others are given wretched homes, and the "door" is opened just a crack for miserly and infrequent assistance. I recall how Chukovskiy's daughter, Lidiya Korneyevna, was evicted from his dacha. This barbarous action was undertaken right after she had been excluded from the Writers Union. After Feliks Svetov was expelled from the Writers Union, he was compelled to work as a guard.

[Correspondent] Nevertheless, some changes have occurred in the USSR Union of Writers, haven't they? Its leadership has been purged of people who had lost the moral right to head it up, and the Writers Union has restored many writers who had been unjustly expelled from it; and their works have been published. Do these changes give you some hopes?

[V. Lazarev] Alas, no. The credit for these changes belongs least of all to the USSR Union of Writers. Those persons who were exposed to public shame have now been, and not without direct participation by the Writers Union, again restored to their rights in the quietude of their study-offices. A few days ago I happened to learn by chance that a session of the Secretariat of the USSR Writers Union Board took place, and it revoked the decision regarding the expulsion of the writers F. Svetov and V. Maksimov from the Writers Union. Again it was done in closed session! Such sessions must be conducted openly and in public, the persons charged must be named, and those whose ill will victimized persons for years and compelled them to leave the Motherland.

These days, unfortunately, while the USSR Union of Writers is not exactly a bastion of resistance to the new trends, it is, in any case, still a sluggish body retarding the action. I would say that the literary bureaucrats are successfully embodying the appearance of perestroika.

[Correspondent] Do you mean that the old departmental structure has been successfully "repackaged" in a container more suitable to the new times?

[V. Lazarev] That's it exactly! With the system of literary "goodies" already worked out. We must admit to ourselves in all frankness that the transitional period of perestroika in the Union of Writers has been lost.

[Correspondent] But why?

[V. Lazarev] Because of our self-confidence, creative egoism, social illiteracy, and inactivity. We have allowed the former organizational secretary Yu. Verchenko (now the responsible secretary of the Committee on the Lenin and State Prizes)—one of those who is to blame for Solzhenitsyn's being expelled from the Writers Union and similar actions—has become a member of the commission to work out a new charter for the Writers Union!

[Correspondent] But if the creative unions have lost their original essence, shouldn't we give some thought to abolishing them?

[V. Lazarev] No, I would not pose the question that way. The creative unions are needed, but it is another matter as to what form they should take. As to the Union of Writers, this can only be decided by the entire body of writers. In any case, I see this organization as more creative, not aggravated by gloomy, bad memories or "secret" chancelleries and buffets for the "top brass." The way I look at it, the foundation of this union must be the Literary Fund, rather than the board, and certainly not the institution of the organizational secretaries.

[Correspondent] In your opinion, what has to be done?

[V. Lazarev] We need to immediately form an initiatory group and convene the next Congress of Writers. The latter would demand the resignation of the USSR Union of Writers leadership, radically change the very structure of the Writers Union and the Literary Fund.

Latvian, USSR Writers Unions Sign Agreement
90UN1126A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 10, 7 Mar 90 p 7

[Agreement signed by : "An Agreement on Cooperation"]

[Text] A few days ago the offices of the USSR Union of Writers witnessed the signing of an agreement on cooperation between the USSR Union of Writers and the Latvian Union of Writers. Published below is the text of this document.

The USSR Union of Writers and the Latvian Union of Writers,

—supporting perestroika which is taking place in our country, participating in the processes of the multifaceted democratization of societal, cultural, and literary life;

—basing our efforts on the mutual conviction that the independent development of national literatures and

their creative cooperation constitute the necessary foundation for further cooperation between our writers organizations;

—and considering that relations between the USSR Union of Writers and the Latvian Union of Writers should henceforth be built on **agreed-upon** principles,

have hereby adopted—in the persons of their own representatives—the following obligations:

1. To assist in a multi-faceted way cooperation between the USSR Union of Writers, the republic-level writers unions, and the Latvian Union of Writers on the level of creative organizations, as well as via personal writers contacts.

The USSR Union of Writers and the Latvian Union of Writers shall regularly carry out measures to propagate the values of the Lettish and other literatures of the peoples of the USSR and discussions of creative problems, organize literary holidays, anniversary celebrations, etc., specifying jointly and ahead of time the plans and time periods of these measures, and each time specifically stipulating the sources of their financing,

2. To develop translating and publishing activities:

The Latvian Union of Writers shall facilitate the preparation and publication—at a level no lower than the existing one—in the publishing houses of the Latvian SSR and in Latvia's newspapers and journals the works of classical and contemporary writers of the USSR's various peoples, as well as analytical and informational materials about these literatures; the USSR Union of Writers shall concern itself with publishing—at a level no lower than the present one—new works by Latvian writers, publication of works of Lettish literature translated into Russian—in the Sovetskiy pisatel Publishing House and in the journals of the USSR Union of Writers, as well as with the regular explication of the in Latvia in the pages of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. The newspaper of Latvia's creative unions, LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, shall regularly print materials concerning the literary life of the Soviet Union,

3. To expand foreign ties:

The Latvian Union of Writers shall establish direct ties with foreign and international writers organizations, take part in the international activities of the USSR Union of Writers, and participate in receiving foreign delegations arriving through channels of the USSR Union of Writers;

The USSR Union of Writers shall involve Latvian writers in participation in international meetings and trips: the USSR Union of Writers—every time on the basis of specific agreements—shall assist the Latvian Union of Writers in the development of its international literary contacts.

The plans of both writers unions in this field shall be worked out and coordinated by their representatives ahead of time,

4. To facilitate the upgrading of skills and training of new staffs of translators, literary scholars, and critics specializing in the field of Lettish and other literatures of the USSR's various peoples; the USSR Union of Writers shall render assistance in the obtaining of skills in the humanities and philology which are impossible to obtain in the republic,

5. The Latvian Union of Writers shall facilitate the study by writers from other republics of the Latvian people's contemporary life and historical past; whereas the USSR Union of Writers shall help in the study by Latvia's writers of the life and history of the USSR's other peoples. The material sources for financing such studies and trips, upon the application of the writers, shall be specifically stipulated each time.

6. Both writers unions shall develop and renew cooperation between the USSR Literary Fund and the Latvian Literary Fund in the sphere of providing material security for writers' living conditions.

The time period of the present agreement's operability shall be established prior to the Ninth All-Union Writers Congress.

The present agreement has been drawn up in Russian and Lettish: both texts shall have equal validity and shall take effect at the time when they are signed.

V. Karpov, first secretary,
USSR Union of Writers Board
I. Auzin, chairman,
Latvian Union of Writers

Film Sympathetic to 'Traitor' Scientist Scored

90UN1166A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 10 Mar 90 p 6

[Letter to Editor from Dmitriy Ilin, NASH SOVREMENNİK first deputy chief editor, and Gen-Maj Justice Vladimir Provorotov, honored jurist of RSFSR and senior assistant to the Chief Military Procurator: "Motion-Picture Brain-Washing"]

[Text] It was not just the feeling of bewilderment brought on by the showing of the film "Ryadom s Zubrom" [Alongside the Bison] on Central Television that forced us to write a letter to the newspaper editor. You see, to millions of viewers, who have grown accustomed to believing documentary films, documents and witnesses, it is not at all easy to distinguish the truth from falsehood in the given film—the interpretation of facts in the picture is so tendentious and contrary to the truth. Therefore we will allow ourselves to remind the readers of the essence of the matter: In 1986, the writer D. Granin published his novel "Zubr" [The Bison]. This is a novel about Soviet citizen N.V. Timofeyev-Resovskiy, a scientist and geneticist who worked comfortably the

entire war, arm in arm with the Fascists in the Buch Scientific Center near Berlin. The book was given mixed reviews, to put it mildly, from readers and critics alike.

Without going into the details of the arguments, we shall point to the most important thing: Making use of practically all the mass information media, today's advocates of "Zubr" are attempting to present a one-sided image of the great scientist. But at the same time they speak rather indistinctly (or keep altogether silent) when the topic turns to his activity as chief of the genetics department and an institution which was actively and purposefully financed by Fascist Germany—both during the war, and even in 1944 when all the Reich's resources were totally mobilized for one purpose: to destroy the USSR.

As is well-known, in 1946 Timofeyev-Resovskiy was tried as a traitor to the Motherland by the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court. The novel "Zubr" attempted to rehabilitate and whitewash him. To what extent was that just? In 1988, even with the modest access to the press which the opponents of "Zubr" possessed, enough material was accumulated to provide a basis for objective, conscientious and comprehensive analysis of this rather controversial phenomenon.

However, apologetic articles about this scientist appeared in a number of magazines. Thus an atmosphere of public excitement was created, which laid the groundwork for appeals to rehabilitate N.V. Timofeyev-Resovskiy...

In fact, analysis and evaluation of this extraordinary case turned out to be far from simple. The chief military procurator had already prepared a document proposing his rehabilitation, when additional investigation was called for, by law, to clarify a number of items that had just sprung up. And you see, in the process of the investigation new documents, facts and testimony were obtained which irrefutably proved that N.V. Timofeyev-Resovskiy committed treason. Thus, there was no basis at all to raise the question of Timofeyev-Resovskiy's rehabilitation, and the petitioners were properly refused. On the basis of materials from the aforementioned investigation we co-authored an article, "Who Are You, Doctor Timofeyev-Resovskiy?" (published in NASH SOVRMENNİK No 11, 1989).

And then, suddenly, something strange and illogical began to happen. Instead of presenting documents and facts to the procurator, which would disavow the materials of the investigation, the advocates of "Zubr" began to attack the Chief Military Procurator. A press conference was organized, at which the finest points of jurisprudence were discussed in the style of a political meeting. And by whom? By people who are not specialists in the area of law. Here is an example of the "logic" of the opposition at that press conference: "...People's Deputies of the USSR, jurists (We remind you, that they are not acquainted with all the materials in the case.—D.I. and V.P.), journalists and writers have noted the absolutely unprofessional level (emphasis ours—D.I. and

V.P.) of the conclusions of the Chief Military Procurator." And there you have it!

We read an account on the press conference (in the newspaper TRIBUNA NTR No 1-2, 1990). It's a pity that scientists have allowed themselves to be dragged into this case.

It is painful to read the account of that emotional meeting. You see, the questions which arose were based on misunderstandings, and could have been resolved in an instant in an atmosphere of calm. For example, certain scientific terminology, which shocked the scientists so badly and brought on such a storm of passions—these were, you see, the actual words of the examination of witness K. Zimmer (an associate of "Zubr"), and not some kind of invention of the investigators as some people suppose. The interrogation and translation of the testimony of K. Zimmer took place in 1945. Hence, both the imperfections in the terminology, which in no way remove the guilt from the conscious direction of the acts of the genetics department headed by N.V. Timofeyev-Resovskiy; specifically: attempts to create weapons of mass destruction of the enemy, that is, the USSR. And, as far as the rest of the press conference goes? Emotion, confusion, deliberate or unintentional falsification... And, we must note—not a single fact which would lead to a verdict of not guilty for N.V. Timofeyev-Resovskiy. Not a single one!...

Here it is appropriate to bring up one extremely important circumstance. The advocates of Zubr are rather clever in their substitution of concepts. They speak about Zubr as if it were a person and a scientist—God help them! But you see, the procurator has provided a conclusive **legal determination** on his acts as the leader of an

institution which during the war was helping Fascist Germany in the struggle with the enemy; that is, with us, with the Soviet nation. By all legal norms, by existing laws he is—a traitor of the Motherland. And no one can overturn the verdict of the court.

Having achieved nothing by means of the legal system, the advocates of Zubr have decided to exert powerful pressure on the public consciousness with the help of television. In late 1989, Ye. Sakanyan's documentary film "Ryadom s Zubrom" fleetingly, literally flashed on the screens. Perhaps this film would have gone unnoticed by the public, had the article not appeared in NASH SOVREMENNİK. And yet today, for a five-day period (from 1 to 5 March), this film was shown on Central Television four (!!!) times, with commentary afterward by Yelena Sakanyan which in fact accused the investigators of lying. The designs of those who arranged for this showing are clear—they had to compensate for the failings of their arguments with mass "motion-picture brainwashing"!

Is it really permissible and moral today, on the eve of the 45th Anniversary of our Victory in the War with Fascism, which brought such a sea of suffering to our people, to engage in **propagandizing of betrayal** before an audience of millions? How can one mislead the immature viewer on such a provocative scale, with such a deficient TV broadcast? We address these questions to Central Television, which is supposed to know what kind of "truth" it is bringing to the people. And finally, we are prepared at any time to appear before the vast television audience and provide detailed explanations of the aforementioned, if Central Television will give us the opportunity to do so. And that would testify to true pluralism in the search for Truth!

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